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ABSTRACT

A review of studies on black youth indicates a need for more attention to research concerns such as theory development, carefully constructed methodologies, and sensitivity to the interrelatedness among and between demographic variables. Some topics, like the well-adjusted black adolescent, are rarely handled in empirical studies. In this document some of the most important empirical and theoretical research in nine areas of concern for black adolescents has been assembled. Attempts are made to point out methodological problems and to identify gaps in the knowledge base. Each section includes a topical summary of the research in a given area, annotations of selected works, and a list of other references. The section topics (with their authors) are the following: (1) psychosocial development (R. Taylor); (2) psychosocial health (H. Ramseur); (3) drug abuse (P. McKenry); (4) suicide (P. McKenry); (5) academic-related behavior (S. Nettles); (6) education and occupational choice (C. Carter); (7) family-adolescent relationships (P. Bell-Scott); (8) sexuality and contraception (J. Pleck); and (9) teen parenting (J. Everett). A project summary contains information about the consortium which produced this report and about its contributing members. (VM)

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BLACK ADOLESCENCE: TOPICAL SUMMARIES AND ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHIES OF RESEARCH

by

The Consortium for Research
on Black Adolescence
School of Family Studies
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April, 1987

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BLACK ADOLESCENCE:

TOPICAL SUMMARIES AND ANNOTATED

BIBLIOGRAPHIES OF RESEARCH

by
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on Black Adolescence

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INTRODUCTION

Black Adolescence: Topical Summaries and Annotated Bibliographies of Research is a product of The Consortium for Research on Black Adolescence (CROBA). The topics covered are not intended to be comprehensive, but rather reflect the particular interests of CROBA members. Among these interests are psychosocial development, psychological health, drug abuse, suicide, academic-related behavior, education and occupational choice, family-adolescent relationships, sexuality and contraception, and teen parenting.

Each member of CROBA contributed a major section to this document. Each section is comprised of three parts: (1) a summary, (2) annotated references, and (3) other references. The summaries, which introduce each section, discuss trends and themes in the literature; critique research design and methodology where appropriate; and identify gaps in the knowledge base.

The annotated references represent some of the most important empirical and theoretical articles and books published since 1975. In general, annotations contain a statement of purpose, description of the sample and research design, and statement of findings. Where the reference is a theoretical or review article, the major points have been

summarized. Significant studies and theoretical works published prior to 1975 are included among the annotated references. The other references category is comprised of sources relevant to the topic, but not necessarily focused specifically on Black adolescents. A list of additional references and project summary statement are also included.

In summary, Black Adolesence identifies several general problems in the field. These problems include: (1) the absence of a unifying theoretical framework to which empirical research is linked; (2) the use of conceptual models which ignore the intersection of race, class, gender, family context and culture, as well as the role of mediating variables in adolescent behavior; (3) the lack of attention to and controls for within-group differences; (4) the absence of research on middle-class and psychologically competent or well-adjusted adolescents and their families; and (5) a focus on individual deviancy and family pathology. Specific issues of concern include:

1. The use of poorly operationalized constructs such as "ghetto youth culture." Such terms do not convey the extent to which race and class may be confounding variables. Ethnographic studies suggest that "ghetto youth culture" (as often reflected in gang membership and anti-social behavior) is not unique to Black adolescents, but

is operable among urban and economically disadvantaged youth across all racial and ethnic lines.

2. The assumption of homogeneity among Black adolescents and their families. Few studies consider the influence of regional (e.g., rural southern versus urban northeastern), ethnocultural (e.g., Haitian, Creole-speaking versus Puerto-Rican, Spanish-speaking), or socioeconomic background (e.g., working-class versus middle-class) upon individual behavior and family dynamics. Common practice assumes a low-income, English-speaking heritage for Black youth and their families.

3. The use of unbalanced research designs and biased instruments. Few studies match subjects along class, age, and family structural variables or consider the appropriateness of instruments developed on White subjects. The tendency is to compare Black adolescents from poor, single-parent families with White youths from working- to middle-class, two-parent families by employing instruments of questionnable or untested validity across race, class, or gender lines.

4. The use of non-random, nonrepresentative samples

from which results are broadly generalized. Seldom are samples drawn from a population which includes the range of family types, personality, socio-cultural and behavioral variables present in most Black communities. There remains an overreliance on captive and clinical populations (e.g., adolescents and families involved in treatment programs). Representative samples, which are less conveniently procured, are extremely rare.

There is clearly a need for: (1) theory development; (2) studies based on representative samples and carefully operationalized constructs; and (3) multi-method strategies which are sensitive to the complex interrelationships between and among the variables of race, culture, class, age, gender, and family structure. Studies which explore the issues of Black adolescent competency, coping behavior, decision-making, sibling relationships, extended family relationships, occupational development, and sexual socialization are sorely needed.

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PSYCHOSOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

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Summary

The role of significant others (i.e., as role models, reference groups) in the psychosocial development of children and youth has long been a topic of interest and research among students of human development. Research has shown that significant others are not only a source of attitudes, beliefs, and values among adolescents but are critical components of their self/identity formation. The concept of significant others has various parameters and has been used by many theorists to denote those individuals or groups who exert a major influence on the attitudes of individuals by: (1) communicating the norms, values, and expectations of the culture or society in which they live; (2) defining the behavior that is considered to be appropriate to the culture or society in which the individual resides; (3) modeling the appropriate attitudes and behavior; and (4) providing the necessary information about the environment to the individuals under their influence (Shade, 1983).

Despite consensus that significant others are important in the psychosocial development of children and youths, theory and research in this area remain at the formative stages. The literature is replete with confusion over conceptual differences between key terms and disagreements regarding appropriate methodology for empirical investigations. The manner in which role models and other significant individuals are selected and rendered useful by children and youth in their attempts to cultivate features of their personal and social identities has received scant attention in the literature, as has the specific qualities of significant others that make them significant in the eyes of children. Measures of known validity and reliability have yet to be developed and the bulk of the research on the topic has relied on survey instruments and, occasionally, formal interviews. As a consequence, much of the work available is limited in breadth and depth of insight. In sum, though a considerable literature now exists on the topic, this work does not provide a comprehensive, coherent picture of the significance of adults in adolescents' lives. Indeed, the preponderance of research available is limited to the study of White children and youths; only a handful of studies has sought to investigate the influence of significant others in the lives of Black children and youths.

Most of the available literature, as it relates to the significant others of Black children and youth, can be usefully categorized in terms of research and writing which: (1) present a theoretical and/or conceptual treatment of the topic; (2) examine the institutional or sociocultural contexts which condition selection or identification with significant others; and (3) report general or specific findings on the attitudes and preferences of Black youth which reflect their reference group orientations or association with significant others. These categories are not mutually exclusive, since a single work may include all three characteristics.

Those interested in the theoretical and conceptual issues associated with the topic will find several publications particularly useful. Cross (1985) reviews the bulk of the literature relevant to Black children and youth published between 1939-1977, and identifies the major conceptual and methodological weaknesses of this body of work, as does Hare (1977) in his overview of the literature. Hauser's (1971) research on Black/White identity formation examines some of the theoretical assumptions, methods, and data relating to role model identification and identity development among these youths, and Taylor's (1986) synthesis of the theoretical and empirical literature includes a framework for analysis of the role of significant

others in the psychosocial development of Black adolescents. In addition, Calbo's (1984) survey of the literature, while not exclusively devoted to Black youth, includes a useful summary of empirical findings, organized around major theoretical issues.

The community, family and other institutional contexts, including the media, which structure or influence adolescent choices of significant others are examined in several works. Shade (1983) presents a brief discussion of these external processes, while Scanzoni (1971), Curry (1976; 1978), and Badaines (1976) examine the processes involved in the selection of and identification with family members and community persons as role models. The broadest coverage of the literature in this area is provided by Ianni (1983), who supplements his review with results from field work conducted in a number of communities. The socialization effects of the media via role models presented to Black adolescents are examined in several articles in a collection edited by Berry & Mitchell-Kernan (1982); and the differential impact of place of residence on role model preferences of Black youth is investigated in the study by Oberle, Stowers & Falk (1978).

The single best source of national data on the attitudes and beliefs of Black youth on a variety of topics is the

survey of high school seniors by Bachman , Johnston, Lloyd & O'Malley (1931). Although not specifically about the significant others or reference group orientations of Black youth, the responses of these youth to a wide range of topics offer important insights into their attitudes, values, and beliefs. The political beliefs and value orientations of Black youth, derived from experience and association with significant others, are examined in the research by Long (1983) and Taylor (1977), each of whom provides a useful research strategy for investigating these issues.

Annotated References

Bachman, J. G., Johnston, L. D. & O'Malley, P.M. (1981). Monitoring the future: Questionnaire responses from the nation's high school seniors, 1980. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Institute for Social Research.

This volume is the sixth in a series which presents descriptive results from a national survey of high school seniors enrolled in 107 public and 20 private high schools throughout the coterminous United States. The project was designed to monitor changes in important values, behaviors, and lifestyle orientations of contemporary youth. The survey covered a wide range of topics and included some 1,300 variables. While drug use and related attitudes received the most extensive coverage in the survey, other subjects included attitudes about government, social institutions, race relations, changing roles for women, educational aspirations, occupational aims, and marital and family plans. More than 16,000 seniors participated in the project, and Black seniors represented approximately 12 percent of the sample.

Badaines, J. (1976). Identification, imitation, and sex-role preference in father-present and father-absent Black and Chicano boys. Journal of Psychology, 92, 15-24.

This is a two-part study of identification and imitation in 52 Black and Chicano seven-year old boys. Part one investigated the effect of race of model and subject on imitation of behavior; part two investigated the effects of paternal status (i.e., father-absent or father-present in the home) on choice of male or female model and masculine sex-role preference. Subjects were exposed to filmed models performing various tasks. While Black subjects expressed a significant preference for Black models, no significant preference for Black, White or Chicano models was expressed by Chicano subjects. The investigator concludes that by age seven, masculine preference is well established, and it is more evident among father-present subjects.

Berry, G. L. & Mitchell-Kernan, C. (Eds.). (1982). Television and the socialization of the minority child. New York: Academic Press.

A collection of articles written by experts from a variety of disciplines on the role of the media in shaping the attitudes, language, and psychosocial development of minority children and youth. The editors present a conceptual overview of television and its role in the socialization of minority children, and identify broad cognitive and affective developmental issues as areas of central concern. Various chapters examine the influence of television on mental health, identity formation, and self-concept development among minority children. Also included are articles on research methodologies and appropriate strategies for illuminating the impact of television on minority group children.

Cross, W.E. (1985). Black identity: Rediscovering the distinction between personal identity and reference group orientations. In M.B. Spencer, G. K. Brookins & W.R. Allen(Eds.), Beginnings: The social and affective development of Black children (pp. 155-171). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

This is a critical review of the vast literature on personal identity and reference group orientations of Black children and youth from the period 1939-1977. In reviewing the work of this period, Cross contends that researchers have often failed to distinguish between Black self-concept

(i.e., personal identity) and group identity or reference group orientation, with important consequences for research and theory in this area. It is argued that each construct requires a different phenomena. Failure to operationalize the two constructs in a manner that makes them readily discernable has resulted in erroneous interpretations of Black identity.

Curry, E.W. (1976). Significant other influence and career decisions: Volume I. Black and White male urban youth (Research and Development Series No. 107). Columbus, OH: Ohio State University, National Center for Research in Vocational Education. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 159 332)

An empirical investigation of the process by which parents and other individuals influence the educational and occupational plans of male high school sophomores. Data were collected from a sample of 247 subjects, their parents, and individuals identified by the subjects as having been influential in affecting their educational and occupational career plans. Among the major findings were that: (1) both Black and White youth identified similar numbers of significant others for their career decisions, and such persons listed tended to be of the same race as the respondents; (2) the familial network provided the majority of significant others for both groups; and (3) extended family members were generally of greater importance for Black than White youth.

Curry, E.W. (1978). Significant other influence and career decisions: Volume II. Black and White female urban youth (Research and Development Series No. 138). Columbus, OH: Ohio State University, National Center for Research in Vocational Education. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 159 333)

A companion study to an earlier work on Black and White male urban youth which investigates the formation of career plans among Black and White female youth, using the theoretical and empirical framework derived from a modified version of the Wisconsin Model of status attainment. Data were collected from a sample of racially balanced, female high school sophomores, and from their significant others, on the latter's occupational and educational expectations for the subjects. Among the major findings were: Significant other variables were the most accurate predictors of career-choice variables; The home-career

expectation of females did not manifest strong effects on educational or occupational expectations; and Significant other variables did not affect educational and occupational expectations for females more strongly than for males. The implications of these findings for research and theory are presented.

Galbo, J.J. (1984). Adolescents' perceptions of significant adults: A review of the literature. Adolescence, 19, 951-970.

A review of research on adolescent perceptions of the influence of significant others in self development. The review is presented according to the following topics: (1) Who are the significant adults with whom adolescents voluntarily associate? (2) What characteristics of significant others are identified by adolescents? (3) At what point do adolescents notice that particular adults are significant? (4) In what settings do adolescents associate with significant adults? (5) To what extent are teachers perceived as being significant adults? (6) What relationship exists between adolescents' perceptions of adults and alienation? The author discusses the major limitations of research on these topics and underscores the need for more sophisticated research designs and analyses.

Hare, B.R. (1977). Black and White child self-esteem in social science: An overview. Journal of Negro Education, 46, 141-156.

Hare presents an overview of the literature on Black self-esteem and identifies the problems associated with assessing the role of significant others in the process. Hare contends that most studies of self-evaluation involving children are limited in their applicability to subjects across class and racial lines; fail to specify where and when different individual and group influences interact or act distinctively in affecting the child's self-evaluation, and how significant others differentially contribute to the self-evaluation of the subject. Two theoretical models for child self-concept studies are presented to address these problems and to stimulate new research in this area.

Hauser, S.T. (1971). Black and White identity formation: Studies in the psychosocial development of lower socioeconomic class adolescent boys. New York: John Wiley.

This monograph presents multiple facets of method, data, and theoretical models in reporting the results of a longitudinal study of Black and White identity formation. A total of 23 Black and White male youths, ranging in age from 14-16 were interviewed and tested in the study. Hauser found Black adolescents to have different identity formation patterns from White adolescents and devotes a large part of the study to identifying the sources or causes of these differential patterns. The work contains some insightful observations on the significance of role models in identity formation and useful recommendations for future research on the topic.

Ianni, F.A.J. (1983). Home, school and community in adolescent education. New York: Columbia University, Institute for Urban and Minority Education. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 336 300)

This is a study of the transition from childhood to adulthood in a variey of social contexts, using methods drawn from field ethnography, clinical psychoanalysis, and survey research. The study explores the connections and conflicts between and among the institutional contexts--work and schooling, the family and the peer group, the criminal justice system and other social contexts--as these contribute to the quality of psychosocial development among youth. This volume contains an excellent review of the massive literature on the topic and presents a useful model for analysis of critical influences and conditions which shape the psychosocial economy of Black inner-city youths.

Long, S.(1983). Psychopolitical orientations of White and Black youth: A test of five models. Journal of Black Studies, 13, 439-457.

This is a review of the literature and an empirical investigation of five models of psychopolitical orientations among a large sample of Black and White youths enrolled in five inner-city schools located in a large mid-western city. Major differences in psychopolitical orientations between White and Black adolescents involved in the study were observed. Such differences were explained on the basis of differential levels of perceived self-competence or esteem, and differential perceptions of political reality on the part of Black and White youth. Competing explanations of racial differences in political orientations received weak to moderate support in this study.

Oberle, W.H., Stowers, K.R. & Falk, W.W. (1978). Place of residence and the role model preferences of Black boys and girls. Adolescence, 13, 13-20.

This is a brief review of the literature and an investigation of the effect of place of residence on role model preference of Black youth. A total of 434 Black sophomores from urban and rural communities were participants in the study. The study found that place of residence was significantly related to the role model preferences of respondents. Specifically, it was found that urban boys preferred different role models from rural boys, and that urban girls preferred different models from rural girls. The investigators conclude that place of residence cannot be regarded as a variable which is unimportant to the process in which educational and occupational goals of youth become crystallized.

Scanzoni, J.H. (1971). The Black family in modern society. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Although the substantive focus of this volume is on structure and dynamics of Black families, it contains several important chapters on the influence of parents as role models and significant others for Black adolescents. Based on a survey of 400 Black households in a large mid-western city, and employing a quasi-generational model, this study describes and analyzes relationships experienced by the respondents with their parents and with other adults while they were still adolescents, and assesses the influence of these relationships on current attitudes and behavior in their role as parents. The extent to which the respondents' own children identified with them as role models was also investigated. Scanzoni discusses the significance of these findings for theory and practice.

Shade, B.J. (1983). The social success of Black youth: the impact of significant others. Journal of Black Studies, 14, 137-150.

This is a general discussion and review of the literature on the differential role of parents, peers, and the media in shaping the attitudes and behavior of Black youth. Shade notes the instrumental role of Black mothers in fostering a sense of competence and achievement in Black children, and the more expressive function of Black fathers aimed at introducing the child to sex roles, values and methods of adaptation in the wider society. Television's role in

reinforcing stereotypic images of Afro-Americans, and its presentation of negative role models are also discussed, as are the negative influences of peer groups and street culture on Black adolescents.

Taylor, R.L. (1986). Black youth and psychosocial development: A conceptual framework. In R. Staples (Ed.), The Black family: Essays and studies (3rd ed.) (pp. 201-210). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth (Reprinted from Journal of Black Studies, 1976, 6, 353-372.

This is a review of the general theoretical literature and research on role modeling behavior. A conceptual framework for analysis of modeling behavior among Black youth is presented. Two types of role models are conceptually distinguished: exemplary and symbolic models. The former refers to specific persons who serve as examples by means of which specific skills and behavior patterns are acquired, while the latter refers to a set of attributes or ideal qualities which may or may not be linked directly with any one particular person as such. In addition, the relationship between a given youth and his or her model is conceptualized in terms of type, content, and scope of their relationship. With the use of this conceptual framework, Taylor reports findings from in-depth interviews with a sample of Black male youth.

Taylor, R.L. (1977). The orientational others and value preferences of Black college youth. Social Science Quarterly, 57, 797-810.

This article reports results from an investigation of the significant others and value preferences of Black students enrolled in a large New England university. The investigator distinguishes between "orientational others" (i.e., others with whom the respondent had a history of relationships) and role-specific significant others (i.e.,others with whom the individual's relationship and interaction tends to be situationally determined). The study found that, when their role as student was considered, faculty and administrators defined the modal hierarchy of significant others for Black college students; however, when their behavior and attitudes were considered within a more general non-specific, transituational context, the order of preference was observed to change, such that family and friends emerged to occupy major positions of importance. In both normative content and choice of significant others, the modal value orientation of these Black college youth gave high priority

to traditional achievement values.

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PSYCHOLOGICAL HEALTH

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"...the Negro has no possible basis for a healthy self-esteem and every incentive for self-hatred."

A. Kardiner & L. Ovesey,
The Mark of Oppression (1951, p. 297).

"...the experience of being black in a society dominated by whites does not, as is sometimes incorrectly assumed, lead to deep and corrosive personal demoralization. Blacks live with greater stress, but they have the personal and social resources to maintain a perspective which keeps the stress external, and not permit it to become internalized or to disrupt personal integration."

J. Veroff, E. Douvan, &
R.A. Kulka,
The Inner American (1981, p. 437).

Summary

What are the psychological and social characteristics of psychologically healthy Black American adolescents? How do these characteristics change throughout adolescence? These are straightforward questions, but ones that until recently have never been comprehensively addressed. Perhaps these have not been addressed because the idea that Black American adolescents or adults could be psychologically healthy is one that traditional social scientists and much of the lay public would find unacceptable. Traditional theory and empirical research on Black adolescents and adults in psychology, sociology, social work, and psychiatry converges on the conclusion embodied in the quote from Kardiner & Ovesey (1951) above. That is, given the social and cultural conditions under which Black Americans live psychological health, however defined, is an impossibility. This tradition has had a theoretical and research focus on low self-esteem, self-hatred, and psychopathology among Black youth.

While the traditional theoretical view of personality and identity among Black youth and adults has a number of variants, the basic model states that Blacks live in a racist White society, where they are viewed and treated as inferior, often living in poverty in a powerless community.

It is argued that Black children internalize the beliefs and negative feelings about themselves and other Blacks held by the White community. Explanations of exactly how the internalization occurs and its precise impact on personality and identity seem to vary with the theoretical orientation of the investigator. A number of empirical studies, including the classic Clark doll studies (1947), seem to support notions about the low self-esteem and self-hatred among Black children and youth (see Taylor, 1976b, for a review).

The 1960s and 1970s marked the beginning of theoretical and empirical challenges to the notion that Black youth or adults were self-hating or had self-esteem lower than White Americans. Perhaps the most striking challenge to the traditional model has been the undermining of its empirical support, largely by recent studies with findings that have contradicted predictions about Black personality and psychological functioning. For example, Black children and adolescents have been shown to have levels of self-esteem equal to their White peers (Allen, 1985; Gibbs, 1985; Looney & Lewis, 1983) and levels of psychosocial adjustment equivalent to their White peers (Gibbs,1985; Looney & Lewis, 1983). Cross (1985) also points out that Black youth have been shown to have positive group identities. Veroff, Douvan, and Kulka (1982) show similar findings for Black

adults.

One recent trend in this literature has been the attempt to understand the bases of positive self-esteem and self-conception among Black youth. Barnes (1980) suggests that under certain conditions the Black family and community act as a mediator or filter of negative images and messages for the Black child. Taylor (1976b) and Gibbs (1985) emphasize the immediate Black social context of Black children and adolescents as their primary source of social comparisons and self-evaluation, and therefore often positive self-concept.

Although some social scientists have moved beyond the traditional view and pointed to sources and mechanisms underlying positive Black self-esteem, which is certainly one aspect of psychological health, they have not constructed a more general model of healthy psychological adjustment or development among Black adolescents. This is perhaps a reflection of the lack of consensus and conceptual clarity in the field about what represents "psychological health" or "healthy development" for adolescents, Black or White. As Ramseur (in press) points out for Black adults and Blotcky & Looney (1980) indicate for Black and White adolescents, competing theories and empirical results leave us without a well-supported general model of health for

either group.

Perhaps in reaction to the lack of a general model of Black adolescent psychological health, investigators have tended to focus on one of two areas: (1) specific aspects of psychological functioning defined as healthy (e.g., competence, positive self-esteem, or high-level coping); or (2) a single aspect of healthy development. Taylor's (1976a) discussion of a conceptual framework for understanding healthy identity development among Black adolescents is a case in point. An example of the first area would be a small group of studies that look at "competent," or "psychosocially successful" Black adolescents (Griffin & Korchin, 1980; Looney & Lewis, 1983; Lee, 1985). These studies examined high school or college-age Blacks who were found to have highly positive attitudes towards the self and feelings of efficacy, to exhibit good interpersonal relationships and skills, and to have good to high levels of academic achievement. They possessed many of the characteristics of the competent self discussed by Smith (1968) and others. Abatso (1985) examines coping and adaptation to stress by older Black adolescents. Myers and King (1980) point to stress and Black adolescent coping styles as a fruitful area for investigation.

While researchers looking at competent Black adolescents

have pointed to the significance of personal, social, and family correlates of competence, research in this area is plagued by many of the same problems which plague studies of self-esteem and other aspects of psychological health as well. Little theoretical discussion or conceptual clarity exists in the literature as to what personal competence is for Black adolescents. Empirical studies are generally not clearly linked to theory, have very small samples, use unvalidated methods, and tend to draw general conclusions from small evidence. In addition, interesting sex differences are often noted, but rarely pursued. More generally, the area of Black adolescent psychological health lacks a theoretical framework from which to create a general model of healthy functioning and development. Empirical studies that look at specific areas of healthy functioning over the different phases of adolescence for both male and female Black adolescents are also sorely needed.

Annotated References

Abatso, Y. (1985). The coping personality: A study of Black community college students. In M.B. Spencer, G.K. Brookins, & W.R. Allen (Eds.), Beginnings: The social and affective development of Black children (pp. 131-153). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

This is an investigation of the personality characteristics, behavioral strategies, and academic achievement of "high coping" Black community college students. These students are contrasted to their Black peers defined as average or low copers. Coping is defined and measured as behavior associated with student attempts to master the academic demands of the classroom. Personality variables measured were self-concept of (academic) ability, locus of control, achievement motivation, and perception of the occupational/educational opportunity structure (as open or closed to advancement). Achievement was defined as year-end grade point average. Study sample was 120 Chicago community college students who filled out paper and pencil instruments in two sessions; data analysis was correlational. High copers had higher self-concepts of ability and internal control sense and reported using a greater number and more diverse coping strategies than average or low copers. Coping, as defined here, was positively correlated to achievement.

Allen, W.R. (1985). Race, income and family dynamics: A study of adolescent male socialization processes and outcomes. In M.B. Spencer, G.K. Brookins, & W.R. Allen (Eds.), Beginnings: The social and affective development of Black children (pp. 273-292). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Allen examines, from a cross-cultural perspective, the family characteristics, interpersonal dynamics, and socialization outcomes for Black and White adolescent males (14-18 years of age) who were members of two-parent middle-income families. Based on individual interviews in 1974 with each family member in 120 Chicago families, the study found that both Black and White sons were "healthy" and "well-adjusted". It also found that Black families significantly differed from White ones in parents' child-rearing goals, practices, interpersonal relations, and views on socialization outcomes. A socialization complex model is proposed to explain adolescent socialization outcomes.

Barnes, E.J. (1980). The Black community as the source of positive self-concept for Black children: A theoretical perspective. In R. Jones (Ed.), Black psychology (pp. 106-130). New York: Harper & Row.

This literature review and theoretical discussion focuses on the issue of how a Black child develops a positive self-concept while growing up in American society. Barnes

emphasizes the role of the Black community and family as mediators or processors of information and messages impinging on the Black child from the larger White community. The investigator argues that under certain conditions the Black community and families can "filter" out racist, destructive messages from White society and help Black children to develop positive self-esteem. Barnes provides preliminary data from a study using questionnaires and the Ethnic Pictures Test to examine the relationship between group identification and self-concept for Black children and their families.

Cross, W.E. (1985). Black identity: Rediscovering the distinction between personal identity and reference group orientation. In M.B. Spencer, G.K. Brookins, & W.R. Allen (Eds.), Beginnings: The social and affective development of Black children (pp.155-171). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

This is a review of 161 empirical studies of Black identity in children and adults that were published between 1939 and 1977. Cross asserts that personal identity and group identity (reference group orientation) are key concepts that have guided almost all studies. He surveys studies which examine the notion of negative Black identity (1939 to 1960s), and reputed changes in Black identity from 1968 to the present. Studies are classified as to whether they examine group identity, personal identity (and self-esteem), or measure both in the same sample. Reliability of methods and results are discussed. The author concludes that Black youth (and adults) have consistently had positive self-esteem, have a multi-faceted reference group orientation that is usually not negative, and that group identity and personal identity (especially self-esteem) have not been shown to be closely linked.

Gibbs, J.T. (1985). City girls: Psychosocial adjustment of urban Black adolescent females SAGE: A Scholarly Journal on Black Women, 2, 28-36.

This is a brief review of the literature on the self-esteem and educational-vocational aspirations of Black adolescent females and a report of preliminary results of a study comparing Black and White adolescent females on measures of self-esteem, educational-vocational expectation, and on a global measure of adolescent psychological functioning. The non-random sample included 387 females in public schools in the San Francisco area, in grades 7-9, who

filled out self-report inventories at school. Black girls were found to be as well-adjusted as White peers on a standardized scale of adolescent adjustment, to have equally positive self-esteem, and to have high educational aspirations and expectations.

Griffin, Q.D. & Korchin, S.J. (1980). Personality competence in Black male adolescents. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 9 (3), 211-227.

This is an empirical study of the nature and antecedents of personality competence in a sample of 23 Black male junior college students (18-21 years of age). Selected by Black and White professors as competent (13) or average (10), these subjects rated themselves on several self-image and personality description inventories. While both groups' ratings put them in the well-adjusted effectively functioning range on personality inventories, those males selected as competent were more ambitious, strove more vigorously for success, and were more inner- than outer-directed.

Lee, C.C. (1985). Successful rural Black adolescents: A psychosocial profile. Adolescence, 20 (77), 129-142.

Lee investigates 68 rural, southern Black adolescents (8th-12th grade) nominated by their public-school teachers as academically and socially successful. Individual interviews explored their current psychological and social functioning as well as personal, family and social factors that seemed to support them. These adolescents had positive, but realistic views of self, internal locus of control, supportive family networks, and positive but limited Black identities.

Looney, J.G. & Lewis, J.M. (1983). Competent adolescents from different socioeconomic and ethnic contexts. Adolescent Psychiatry, 2, 64-74.

This study compares two small samples of adolescents--one Black and working class (n = 11) and another White and upper-middle class (n = 11)--in eleven areas of psychological and social functioning. The White adolescents were studied prior to Blacks, and both groups had individual interviews. Their families were part of a larger study of competent families and subjects were selected from adolescents in those families. Black and White adolescents

were found to have remarkably similar levels of adaptive functioning and attitudes, in all areas, ranging from self-esteem to social relationships, attitudes towards family, to academic achievement. See also Lewis & Looney, (1983) in other references list for a discussion of the families of these adolescents.

Taylor, R.L. (1976a). Black youth and psychosocial development: A conceptual framework. Journal of Black Studies, 6 (4), 353-372.

Taylor discusses the development of psychosocial identity among Black youth by focusing on the importance of role models in their active attempts to construct aspects of their social and personal identities. Relevant theory about identity development and role models during adolescence points to the importance of distinction between exemplary and symbolic role models. Case histories from 30 Black male college students are analyzed and point to father's changing importance as a role model.

Taylor, R.L. (1976b). Psychosocial development among Black children and youth: A reexamination. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 46 (1), 4-19.

Taylor reviews traditional thinking and research about the development of Black self-identity, with emphasis on self-esteem of Black youth. The investigator points to recent studies that contradict traditional models and to major deficiencies in assumptions and methods of traditional studies. Alternative formulations for understanding the bases of positive self-esteem among Black youth, and the importance of social context in the development of self-identity are explored.

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Lewis, J.M. & Looney, J.G. (1983). The long struggle: Well functioning working-class Black families. New York: Brunner/Mazel.

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Smith, E.J. (1982). The Black female adolescent: A review of the educational, career, and psychological literature. Psychology of Women Quarterly, 6 (3), 261-288.

Smith, M.B. (1968). Competence and socialization. In J. Clausen (Ed.), Socialization and society (pp. 270-320). Boston: Little, Brown and Co.

Spencer, M.B. (1986). Minority children and mental health: Old perspectives and new proposals. In M.R. Isaacs (Ed.), Developing mental health programs for minority youth and their families (pp.49-68). Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Child Development Center, CASSP Technical Assistance Center.

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DRUG ABUSE

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Summary

While much research has been conducted on Black adolescent drug abuse, the literature generally suffers from serious conceptual and methodological weaknesses. Many empirical studies are atheoretical in both design and interpretation. For example, few studies theoretically deal with racial or cultural differences even when such differences in drug behaviors have been found. Also, some studies assume drug use and abuse among Black youth to be at a level exceeding that of White youth. A related assumption is that pathological characteristics of Black families are major factors in drug abuse among Black youth (Austin et al., 1977; Messolonghites, 1979).

These invalid assumptions are maintained, in part, because of sampling bias. Studies have relied heavily on low-income, inner-city youth instead of sampling a broader cross-section which would include Blacks from middle-class settings and those from communities where drug abuse is not a major problem. Likewise, many studies have utililzed Black youth in correctional or public drug treatment

facilities where the level of drug abuse is greater than the norm. Because of this tendency to sample those Black adolescents at greater risk, the focus of most studies has been on hard drug use by males. When low-income and institutionalized populations are studied without a comparison group or are compared with White, middle-class adolescents, it is not surprising that assumptions of greater drug use among Black youth are supported. The failure to carefully delineate age parameters, coupled with the failure to compare various age cohorts of adolescents, has contributed to additional misconceptions. For example, when studies have examined specific age cohorts (i.e., younger versus older adolescents), Black-White differences in drug use and abuse have been less marked (O'Donnell et al., 1976).

Some recent studies have begun to overcome these conceptual and methodological weaknesses. Future studies, in addition to addressing these weaknesses, must move beyond descriptive, correlational designs and deal specifically with causality. To do so, more in-depth, detailed investigations must be undertaken which are grounded in relevant health, sociological, and/or psychological theories.

What then can be concluded from this body of literature

about Black youth and drug behavior today? With the publication of more rigorous studies in recent years and the concurrence of findings from several studies, some rather definitive and illuminating conclusions can be drawn. In terms of Black-White adolescent differences in drug use, overall there has been a convergence in drug use, especially among younger age cohorts (e.g.. O'Donnell et al, 1976). While Blacks still exceed White adolescents in use of cocaine, heroin, marijuana, and opiates, Blacks and Whites are very similar in the use of other drugs. It is also clear that the etiology of drug abuse among Black youth can only be understood in cultural context. Black drug abuse is probably best explained in terms of sociocultural factors whereas White drug abuse appears to be most highly related to psychological factors (Paton & Kendel, 1978). In recent studies of Black adolescent drug abuse, status incongruency and social stress theories appear to be strongly supported. For example, several studies (Gay, 1981; Paton & Kandel, 1978; Penk et al., 1981) paradoxically have noted that high self-esteem, high level of adjustment, and generally positive level of functioning were directly related to Black adolescent drug use; also the gap between high aspirations and low expectations appears to generate frustration and stress leading to "coping" by using drugs.

Drug abuse is widely recognized as a major health, social, and psychological problem among Black youth, yet intervention has focused on treatment instead of prevention and education. Also, intervention efforts have tended to take the form of small-scale, local programs with targeted populations instead of addressing the societal inequity which underlies the pattern of drug use and abuse among Black youth.

Annotated References

Austin, G.A., Johnson, B.D., Carroll, E.E. & Lettieri, D.J. (1977). Drugs and minorities. Rockville, MD: National Institute on Drug Abuse.

The research literature on drug use and minorities is reviewed and critiqued. It is asserted that in spite of many well designed empirical investigations on the topic, many suffer from the absence of theory and or bias in interpretation of findings. Another major problem is the reliance on institutionalized samples in which Blacks are overrepresented with generalizations made to wider society. Adolescents who are arrested or treated for drug use at public facilities are deemed nonrepresentative samples of both Black and White drug users. It is concluded that when all major studies are carefully reviewed, Whites have been at least as likely as Blacks and other minorities to be multiple drug users and to use all drugs, except heroin and cocaine. Also racial differences in heroin and cocaine use have been declining among younger Blacks and Whites.

Barnes, G.M. & Welte, J.W. (1986). Patterns and predictors of alcohol use among 7-12th grade students in New York State. Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 47, 53-61.

This survey of 27,335 representative secondary school students in New York State found 71% to be drinkers and 13% heavy drinkers (i.e., drink at least once a week and typically consume five more drinks per occasion). Because of the large sample and ethnic diversity of New York, this study provided useful information on youthful drinking in various ethnic groups. In the subsample of over 3,000 Black youth, there was evidence of less drinking and less heavy drinking than among White youth. The authors speculate that these relatively low rates of drinking may be underestimates since Black high school students have higher rates of alcohol use and misuse. Yet other studies of Black households in general have found less alcohol use by Black youth as compared to White adolescents. More in-depth research is needed to explain any difference in adolescent alcohol consumption.

Brook, J.S., Whiteman, M. & Gordon, A.S. (1982). Qualitative and quantitative aspects of adolescent drug use: Interplay of personality, family, and peer correlates. Psychological Reports, 51, 1151-1163.

The purpose of this study was to examine domains of personality, family, and peer variables and their relationship to the qualitative (stage) and quantitative (frequency) aspects of adolescents' drug use. This survey of Black (n =245) and White (n =418) high school freshmen and sophmores suggests that a mediational model best describes the interplay of personality, family, and peer factors and the frequency of drug use by adolescents; i.e., drug-prone personality and family conditions are associated with involvement in peer environments conducive to drug use. Yet each of these three domains was independently associated with the stage of adolescent drug use. The findings were similar in racial, sex, and social-class groups, supporting other studies finding comparable psychosocial proneness to drug use among these demographic groupings.

Brunswick, A.F. & Tarica, C. (1974). Drinking and health: A study of urban Black adolescents. Addictive Diseases: An International Journal, 1, 21-42.

Interviews of 659 Black adolescents (ages 12-17 years of age) were conducted as part of a study of adolescent health in Harlem. The purpose of this phase of the study was to focus on health correlates of drinking. Major findings were: that drinking was regarded by the adolescents as a major health threat; that drinking increased with age,

especially among boys; that drinkers, especially older girls and younger boys, were more likely to evidence health problems; that psychosomatic complaints were the most frequently cited health problems; that drinkers worried more than nondrinkers, but drinkers evidenced higher self-regard; that drinking was related to other lifestyle behaviors, notably smoking among boys and early pregnancy among girls, and anticipation of death by violent means; that drinkers and nondrinkers could not be distinguished by social class; and regression analysis indicated that drinking could best be explained by combination of lifestyle behaviors, psychosomatic conditions, and worry. It is suggested that adolescent drinking be recognized as symptomatic of other health problems. The authors conclude that Black adolescent drinking can best be explained as a means of handling stress.

Brunswick, A.F. (1977). Health and drug behavior: A study of urban Black adolescents. Addictive Diseases: An International Journal, 3, 197-214.

Interviews were conducted with 752 adolescents (12-17 years-old) in a large inner-city and largely Black ghetto in the eastern United States. In contrast to the majority of other studies of drug use, the data are from a community as compared to a clinical sample; the data were collected by personal interviews and medical examination; and information was gathered on a wide range of health and health-related behaviors. Data analysis revealed that drug users smoked more than nonusers; received lower school grades; attended church less often; had poorer perceived emotional and physical health; more often were neither in school nor working; and more often aspired to some professional occupation yet evidencing a greater gap between aspirations and expectations. These correlates of drug use among Black youth are comparable to what others have found in studies among largely White and socioeconomically heterogeneous high school populations. The findings are also seen to be consistent with theories of status incongruency and social stress. Some younger versus older age differences were noted with the speculation made that different norms may be operating in different age groupings.

Dawkins, R. L. & Dawkins, M.P., (1983). Alcohol use and delinquency among Black, White, and Hispanic adolescent offenders. Adolescence, 18, 799-809.

Data were collected by means of questionnaires administered to 342 residents of a public juvenile facility to examine the relationship between drinking and criminal behavior. Analyses were performed separately for each racial subgroup, and indicated that drinking is strongly associated with minor juvenile offenses in each subgroup and strongly associated with serious offenses only for Blacks and Whites with other factors held constant. Relative to other background and behavioral factors, drinking is the strongest single predictor of criminal offenses among Black adolescents, yet of less importance as a predictor of criminal behavior in the other two racial subgroups.

Fields, A.B. (1984). Slinging weed: The social organization of streetcorner marijuana sales. Urban Life, 13, 247-270.

This study sought to examine the activities of young Black dealers who regularly and openly sold marijuana on the streets of low-income Black communities. Such dealers were observed and interviewed in a city in northern California over a three-year period; the dealers were teenagers or only slightly older. In contrast to depictions of the low-level marijuana dealer of the 1960's, these dealers pursue goals characteristic of small-scale entrepreneurs; they are not committed to the values of hedonism or of antimaterialism; and they do not engage in sales primarily to ensure a personal supply of marijuana. Their overriding goal is monetary success. Increasing consumer demand coupled with an increasing profit margin due to risks of legal intervention has resulted in making the selling of marijuana an increasingly profitable enterprise for youth who have few comparably lucrative options. An interesting implication for intervention is that efforts to control trafficking in marijuana may, paradoxically, make selling of marijuana more profitable and hence make legal intervention more difficult.

Gay, J.E. (1981). Alcohol and metropolitan Black teenagers. Journal of Drug Education, 11, 19-26.

Interviews were conducted with 728 Black youths (11-16 years of age) in Baltimore, Maryland to provide a comprehensive understanding of their health care needs. Twenty-four percent reported any drinking; 15 percent were regular drinkers (at least one drink a week). Findings indicated that both adolescent drinkers and nondrinkers generally recognized drinking and alcoholism as a major

health threat; drinkers were more likely to report health problems, especially younger males and older females; drinkers worried more than nondrinkers, yet drinkers evidenced higher self-esteem; drinking was related to other lifestyle behaviors and attitudes, notably smoking among males, early pregnancy among females, and anticipation of death by violent means. The author concludes that his findings support the view of adolescent drinking as a means of handling stress.

Globetti, G. (1967). A comparative study of White and Negro teenage drinking in two Mississippi communities. Phylon, 28, 131-138.

This survey of 314 White and 214 Black high school students from two communities in Mississippi found, contrary to the stereotype of Black youth as lacking control in drinking behavior, that the drinking of Black adolescents was more likely to be governed by adults than that of their White counterparts. The data suggest that adults in Black society regard drinking by adolescents as more acceptable than do adults in White society, and consequently train their children for an adult role which will likely include intoxicants; there is no such anticipatory pattern apparent in White society. Further analysis revealed that when social status was controlled, there was no difference in the sociocultural factors influencing drinking patterns of Black and White adolescents.

Higgins, P.C., Albrecht, G.L. & Albrecht, M.H. (1977). Black-White adolescent drinking: The myth and the reality. Social Problems, 25, 215-222.

A stratified, random sample of 1,383 high school students in Atlanta, Georgia completed a questionnaire on various aspects of adolescent behavior, including drug use. The data indicated that Black adolescents were no more likely and were often less likely than White adolescents to be involved in drinking behavior. Also, it was discovered that when Black adolescents drink, they are more likely than White adolescents to drink within the context of their family. The authors point out that the results cannot be explained by a "trade-off" in which Black adolescents substitute drugs for alcohol. The implications are that Black adult problem drinking may not be as strongly related to adolescent drinking patterns as previously thought, and that Black adolescent problem drinking is not related to family pathology or disorganization as has been suggested by

many in the past--but, in fact, is much less than that of White adolescents because of family control.

Messolonghites, L. (1979). Multicultural perspectives on drug abuse and its prevention. Rockville, MD: National Institute of Drug Abuse.

This monograph critiques the research on drug abuse according to various American subcultural groupings. The author notes that a disproportionate number of studies of drug abuse among ethnic or minority groups have been concerned with drug use in Black communities. The large number of studies of drug use by Blacks includes many comparative studies, principally comparing Black and White patterns of heroin and marijuana use. Black drug use has become the "yardstick" for measuring relative degrees of use or abuse. Such studies can be faulted for failing to study Black communities where drug abuse is not a problem while relying largely on residents of ghettos and those in prisons, detoxification centers and other environments that attest to arrest records. This focus on hard drug use by those with much drug experience has tended to limit the range of drug abuse programs available to Black populations, emphasizing treatment rather than education and prevention.

Nobles, W.W. (1984). Alienation, human transformation, and adolescent drug use: Toward a reconceptualization of the problem. Journal of Drug Issues, 10, 243-252.

The author reviews the traditional conceptualization of adolescent drug use and puts forth a reconceptualization which holds that alcoholism and drug abuse can best be understood as embedded in the fundamental American cultural fabric as opposed to individual character flaw. American culture with its emphasis on individuality, separateness, and competition has produced a sense of alienation and frustration among its youth; and drug abuse is one symptom of this sense of meaninglessness. The solution to adolescent drug abuse requires the Africanization of America wherein fundamental societal values are changed to emphasize the unity and integration of human meaning and experience.

O'Donnell, J.A., Voss, H.L., Clayton, R.R., Slatin, G.T. & Room, R.G. (1976). Young men and drugs: A nationwide survey. Rockville, MD: National Institute of Drug Abuse.

This national survey of drug use by young men (20-30 years of age) reveals some interesting Black-White comparisons. Blacks exceed Whites in current use of marijuana, heroin, opiates, and cocaine to an extent that suggests a real difference. Yet Whites exceed Blacks in use of alcohol. Blacks and Whites are similar in use of other drugs. Younger Black and White cohorts reflect comparable use of most drugs, indicating a convergence in Blacks and Whites especially for those drugs which Blacks currently use more than Whites.

Paton, S.M. & Kandel, D.B. (1978). Psychological factors and adolescent illicit drug use: Ethnicity and sex differences. Adolescence, 13, 187-198.

A random sample of 8,206 New York State public secondary school students was given a self-administered questionnaire to identify psychological factors related to illicit drug use. Two of four factors studied (i.e., depressive mood and normlessness) were directly related to illicit drug use. This association varied by sex and ethnicity, being consistently stronger among girls and among Whites. In addition, depressive mood was found inversely related to multiple drug use for Black and Puerto Rican males. These findings suggest that psychological factors play a different role in adolescent drug involvement within various social and cultural groups, and that sociocultural factors may be more important determinants of drug use among Blacks and Puerto Ricans than psychological factors, and more important predictors in minority groups than among Whites.

Penk, W.E., Robinowitz, R., Roberts, W.R., Dolan, M.P. & Atkins, H.G. (1981). MMPI differences of male Hispanic-American, Black and White heroin addicts. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 49, 488-490.

This study surveyed first-admission male, young adult, heroin addicts in a Veterans Administration treatment program. Findings generated support for the hypothesis that better adjusted minority males are more likely than less well adjusted minority males to become addicted, whereas less well adjusted majority (White) males are more susceptible than better adjusted White males. It is contended that better adjusted minorities may be at higher risk because they are frustated with fewer opportunities to actualize potentials, with some choosing a life of addiction, which challenges traditional values and conventional life. By contrast, less adjusted Whites may be

at greater risk because personal maladjustment interferes with their capacity to actualize potentials.

Schonfield, J. (1967). Differences in smoking, drinking and social behavior by race and delinquency status in adolescent males. Adolescence, 1, 367-380.

Seventy-seven non-delinquents and 54 delinquents were interviewed with respect to their smoking, drinking, and social behaviors. After controlling for social class and family size, some interesting racial comparisons were noted. Whites in the total sample and their friends smoked more cigarettes per day than Black adolescents and their friends; however, there was no racial differences in parental smoking status and reported age at which they started to smoke. These findings would question the traditionally accepted premise that White adolescents smoke more frequently because of an economic advantage over Black adolescents. Black and White adolescents in the total sample did not differ in alcohol consumption. Racial/delinquency status sub-group comparisons were not made.

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SUICIDE

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Summary

The literature on Black adolescent suicidal behavior is replete with inconsistent and contradictory findings largely because of the lack of systematic research and the many methodological weaknesses that characterize the small number of existing studies. It is even very difficult to determine the actual rate of suicide completions and suicide attempts among Black adolescents because: (1) The adolescent period is often not distinguished or is variably defined; (2) Suicides and suicide attempts are sometimes not distinguished; (3) Blacks are often included with other nonwhites; and (4) Black suicide rates are grossly underreported for a variety of reasons. Attempts to understand the etiology of Black adolescent suicide behavior are made difficult by: (1) the failure to control for social class; (2) the use of culturally biased instrumentation; (3) the reliance on captive and/or clinical populations; (4) the lack of control or comparison groups; (5) the reliance on

descriptive data; and (6) the use of "deficit" theoretical models which superficially explain the dynamics of suicide among Black youth.

In spite of inconsistencies, most data on Black adolescent suicide reveal an ever increasing rate of completed suicides and suicide attempts in recent years, especially among males (Davis, 1979; Gibbs, 1984). For many years suicide was a relatively rare phenomenon in the Black community, but now adolescent and young adult suicides, especially male, approach, if not exceed, the suicide attempt and completion levels of their White counterparts (Davis, 1979; Freedberg, 1986). (Because of the higher absolute rate of suicide completions and greater increase in suicidal behaviors among Black adolescent males, most studies have not closely examined the dynamics of suicidal behaviors of Black female adolescents.) Rates of Black adolescent suicidal behaviors would likely be even higher if more accurate reporting procedures, including better treatment facilities, existed in the Black community; also many Black suicide attempts and completions are "masked" by drug abuse and violent behaviors (Seiden, 1970; Warhauser & Monk, 1978).

Various reasons are espoused for the increasing suicide rates. Both practitioners and researchers tend to place

youthful suicide alongside other social indicators, such as drug abuse and unemployment, which have signified an overall decrease in well-being among Black youth in recent years (Gibbs, 1984; Freedberg, 1986). Many researchers have developed a frustration-aggression hypothesis and concluded that suicidal behaviors among Black youth are related to an increasing sense of disappointment and despair at continuing discrimination as Blacks progress closer to mainstream White society (Raskin, et al., 1975; Seiden, 1981). Some see a breakdown in community structures, like the church and family, which have traditionally served as a buffer against stress for Black individuals (Freedberg, 1986). At the same time it is noted that professional psychological services have not increased to any meaningful extent in the Black community (Gibbs 1984; Raskin et al. 1975). Still others, taking a cultural deficiency prospective, focus on the pressures, conflicts, and violence of urban life which lead to low self-esteem and eventual self-hatred (Hendin, 1969; Kirk & Zucker, 1979).

Implications suggested for intervention vary, much like the findings pertaining to the etiology of suicidal behavior among Black youth. Most authors, by specific recommendation or by implication, note the need for collaborative efforts among social service agencies, community organizations, and families (Gibbs, 1984). Also, many cite the need for large-

scale societal change to provide more opportunities for Black youth so that the gap between aspirations and an uncertain reality might be reduced. (Freedberg, 1986). Some authors have suggested greater emphasis on a collective Black consciousness and pride as a strategy for directing anger and frustration in more constructive ways (Kirk & Zucker, 1979). In terms of treatment per se, it is clear that most Black youth are not receiving psychiatric treatment until after an attempt and then the quality of that treatment may not be comparable to what White youth receive. In addition, it is frequently recommended that mental health professionals become acquainted with the unique dynamics that underlie suicidal behavior among Black youth (Pederson et al., 1973).

Annotated References

Baker. F. M. (1984). Black suicide attempters in 1980: A preventive focus. General Hospital Psychiatry, 6, 131-137.

This study sought to determine from an emergency room (Yale-New Haven Hospital) sample of suicide attempters: (1) factors that could suggest preventive strategies; (2) any demographic change in the Black suicide attempter population in the 1980's; and (3) social support during hospitalization. The sample of 56 Black suicide attempters was composed of 17 males and 39 females and was predominantly (68%, n =38) adolescent or young adult (16-29 years of age). A psychiatric inventory was completed by interviewing each patient; data also included a retrospective medical review and a review of outpatient and

clinical records documenting post-attempt treatment. Based on clinical evaluation, preventive measures specified included: education to improve stress management, informational sessions for those with an emotionally disturbed family member, removal of drugs from the environment of suicidal individuals, family crisis intervention at psychiatric hospitalization if the patient has not pursued treatment after two attempts. Compared to prior studies of Black suicide attempters, increased mental illness and a larger proportion of females were noted. Finally, it was noted that family members tended to be aware of the stressors which affected the patient and tended to accompany the attempter to the hospital; these significant others were thus seen as important in designing crisis intervention strategies.

Children's Defense Fund. (1985). Black and White children in America: Key Facts. Washington, DC: Children's Defense Fund.

Drawing on various government compiled data bases, Chapter 7, "Child Health," presents a demographic overview of the health status of children today. In terms of mortality, Black children are more likely to die than White children, yet older White adolescents have higher mortality rates than older Black adolescents because of their greater exposure to auto accidents and higher suicide rates; Black adolescents are more likely than White adolescents to die of homicide. Black adolescents (15-19 years of age) are less than half as likely as White adolescents to commit suicide. White male adolescents (15-19 years of age) are almost three times more likely than Black males to commit suicide. Almost all of the increase in adolescent (15-19 years of age) suicide between 1973 and 1980 is concentrated among White males. The White female rate increased slightly over this period, and the rates among Blacks decreased.

Davis, R. (1979). Black suicide in the seventies: Current trends. Suicide and Life-Threatening Behavior, 9, 131-140.

Studies are reviewed to indicate the increasing rate of suicide in the Black community especially among youth in recent years. The investigator found: (1) the suicide rate of 15-19 year old Non-white females has exceeded that of their White female age peers; (2) the suicide rate of Black males, ages 20-24, has approximated and at times exceeded that of their White male age cohorts; (3) the suicide rate of non-white males and females, ages 15-34, is now higher

than it has been in 50 years; (4) Blacks between the ages of 15 and 24 commit suicide at a rate higher than that of the total Black population of all ages; (5) among Black Americans, suicide rates peak between ages 25 and 34. Contrary to popular belief, suicide is more of a male than female phenomena in the Black community as the rate of increase in suicide has been far greater among Black males than Black females. It is also observed that regionally Black suicide rates are the highest in the North and West and lowest in the South.

Gibbs, J.T. (1984). Black adolescents and youth: An endangered species. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 54, 6-21.

This review of social indicators with implications derived for the delivery of services reveals that Black youth are relatively worse off in the 1980's than they were in 1960 in terms of rates of unemployment, delinquency, substance abuse, teenage pregnancy, and suicide. From 1960-1979, the suicide rate for Black males (15-24 years of age) increased threefold and doubled for Black females in the same age group. Although suicide rates for Black youth are statistically still lower than that of Whites, it is suggested that the figures would be much higher (even higher than Whites) if the causes of death among Blacks were reported as reliably as are causes of death among Whites. The increasingly high rates of suicide among Black youth are explained by increased peer competition -- for college admission, jobs, and access to services -- for which Blacks are in a more disadvantaged position than Whites. Collaborative intervention efforts among social service agencies, community organizations, and parents are recommended in addition to a national policy for children and families.

Freedberg, L. (January-February, 1986). For Black males suicide rates peak at prime of life. Youth Law News, 7, 13.

Various literature is reviewed with the conclusion reached that soaring suicide rates provided a graphic measure of despair among young Black men. In general, Blacks commit suicide far less than Whites. But in the 20-34 age group for Black males, suicide rates have risen dramatically in the last two decades and are now approaching the rates of White males. Black females like White females have rates much lower than their male counterparts. While

the suicide rate of White male youth (20-24 years of age) doubled between 1960-1983, the suicide rate of Black male youth (20-24 years of age) tripled during the same period. It is also pointed out that the Black suicide rate peaks in young adulthood while that of Whites peak after age 65. The author accounts for the increasing rate of Black suicide in early adulthood by citing the disappointment and despair at continuing discrimination as Blacks move closer to mainstream White society. Freedberg calls it a case of "false assimilation." It is not only hopelessness that accounts for the increasing suicide rate among Black youth, but also the erosion of traditional buffers (i.e., the family and the church) against the effects of poverty and exclusion. Drawing on traditional supports and coping mechanisms can help Black youth cope during this transitional period when a large gap still exists between aspiration and opportunity.

Hendin, H. (1969). Black suicide. Archives of General Psychiatry, 21, 407-422.

This article summarizes data from the author's book, Black Suicide. These data on young adult suicides represent in-depth, psychoanalytic interviews with 25 male and female patients who had been hospitalized for attempted suicide. Five cases are presented in detail. Factors identified as being related to suicidal behaviors include the pressures and conflicts of urban life, violence in the family and community, and self-hatred. Suggestions for improving the mental health of young Blacks include Black pride movements which turn the young Black person's rage and anger outward toward societal change instead of inward toward self-destruction. Those Blacks who survive past the young adult years have typically made some accomodation with life -- a compromise that has usually included a scaling down of aspirations.

Hendin, H. (1978). Suicide: The psychosocial dimension. Suicide and Life-Threatening Behavior, 8, 99-117.

This article explores the relationship among culture, character, and suicide by reviewing the author's research in Scandinavia, and his studies of suicide among young urban Black adults and college students. The author stresses that only with a thorough understanding of the cultural milieu of the suicidal individual can the etiology of suicide be understood. Populations represented here are not compared, but individually described in terms of the cultural

components leading to suicidal behaviors. In terms of young urban Black adults, the psychosocial forces for suicide are thought to be vividly suggested in the external deprivations of life with frustration and anger turned inward in the form of self-hatred.

Kirk, A. R. & Zucker, R. A. (1979). Some sociopsychological factors in attempted suicide among urban Black males. Suicide and Life-Threatening Behavior, 9, 76-86.

This study sought to test three hypotheses relating to suicidal behavior among young, urban Black males: (1) Black consciousness and (2) group cohesiveness would be lower; and (3) depression would be higher among attempters as compared to nonattempters. Twenty Black males between the ages of 20-35 who had attempted suicide within a six-month period prior to the study were compared to a control group who had never attempted suicide nor had serious thoughts about suicide. The two groups were matched in terms of age, race, marital status, and level of education. Identification of the attempters was made by the Detroit, Michigan Department of Health; controls lived in the same general neighborhood as the attempters. Subjects were administered in their homes a paper and pencil questionnaire containing several standardized instruments. Findings revealed that the attempters evidenced less Black consciousness as hypothesized, but the hypotheses that the attempters would evidence lower group cohesiveness and higher depression levels are only partially supported. The authors conclude that the suicide attempt among Black males is a two-factor process involving greater alienation, and lack of a positive identification as a Black individual. It is also noted that these findings may be specific to the era studied when Blacks were not yet assimilated into White American society and been given the right and encouragement to do so. A Black consciousness gives the individual an awareness of what is and is not possible as well as an outlet for frustration and anger.

McIntosh, J. L. & Santos, J. F. (1982). Changing patterns in methods of suicide by race and sex. Suicide and Life-Threatening Behavior, 12, 221-233.

Using data from Vital Statistics of the United States and Mortality Statistics, this study sought to determine changes in method of suicide by sex and race over a fifty-five year period (1923-1978). No age breakdown is given. Traditionally, males have used firearms and rarely used

poisons, whereas females have used poisons far more frequently than firearms. Data analysis revealed that both White and Black males have increasingly used firearms over the years studied -- both groups now using them in over 60% of completed suicides. The increase in the use of firearms is also quite apparent for White and Black women, more than doubling for both groups over the fifty-five year period; White women are still more likely to use poisons, but Black women since the 1950's have used firearms more than any other method. Possible explanations for the increase in firearm suicides among the sex-race groupings include: increasing availability, ease of purchase, growing acceptance of firearm ownership and familiarity, and greater social acceptability of firearms as a method for males. Very different patterns in methods of suicide were found for other racial groups studied; i.e., Native-American and Asian-American.

Mercy, J.A., Tolsman, D. D., Smith, J. C. & Conn, J. M. (1984). Patterns of youth suicide in the United States. Educational Horizons, 21, 124-125.

Demographic trends in adolescent suicide rates are reviewed. It is noted that the U.S. suicide rate among youth (15-24) years of age has increased dramatically over the past 30 years -- tripling from 1950-1980. The overall increase in the rate of youth suicide is due primarily to an increasing number and rate of suicide among young males. Ninety percent of young male suicides are White. Moreover, the White male group was the only race-sex category to show a clear upward trend in suicide rates from 1970-1980. Except for 1972, rates for young males of Black and other races remained lower than rates for young White males. Rates for young White females and for females of Black and other races were approximately equal and relatively stable over time.

Pederson, A M., Awad, G. A. & Kindler (1973). Epidemiological differences between White and Nonwhite suicide attempters. American Journal of Psychiatry, 130, 1071-1976.

Using medical records of 1,345 suicide attempters over a three-year period, the authors attempted to determine differences in suicidal behaviors among Whites and nonwhites. The medical records were compiled by hospital personnel when the subjects were treated for a suicide attempt. Persons designated White (88%) included

Caucasians, Puerto Ricans, and American Indians; Nonwhites (12%) were almost all Black. Age-race distinctions were not made. Major differences were found between Whites and nonwhites who attempted suicide. Compared to Whites, the nonwhites had: three times the number of attempts; had a higher ratio of women to men (6:1 compared to 3:1 among Whites); were younger and of lower social class; were more likely to be single; were less likely to be diagnosed as having a psychotic disorder; and less likely to commit suicide after an attempt. It is concluded that a different set of dynamics may underlie suicidal behavior in these two racial groups.

Raskin, A., Crook, T. H. & Herman, K. D. (1975). Psychiatric history and symptom differences in Black and White depressed inpatients. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 43, 73-80

As part of a larger multi-hospital, collaborative study of drug treatment of depression, 159 Black patients were compared with 555 White patients on social, personality, and psychiatric history variables, as well as presenting symptoms. Racial differences in age, social class, and sex were statistically controlled. Patients ranged in age from 16-70. Findings indicated that both Black and White depressed patients were remarkably similar in presenting symptoms. Some differences did emerge on a number of hostility variables. There was a greater tendency toward negativism and introjection of anger in Blacks than in Whites. Also, depressed Black males indicated that they were more likely than their White counterparts to strike back, either verbally or physically, when they felt their rights were being violated. These two competing drives in Black males lead to much frustration and helplessness. There was also a very high incidence of suicide threats or attempts among Black males. The clinical picture of the typical Black attempter emerged as a young male depressed as a result of personal dislocation or loss due to separation; this emotional disturbance is characterized by suicide attempts or threats to harm oneself or others; this emotional illness generally goes untreated prior to hospitalization.

Seiden, R. H. (1970). We're driving young Blacks to suicide. Psychology Today, 4, 24-28.

A review of the incidence and etiology of suicide among young Blacks (focusing on males) is presented. The author's

major contention is that the rates at which young Blacks kill themselves might be even higher than known if some kinds of homicides were included among them. In these "victim-precipitated" homicides, the victims seem to provoke others into killing them, often wielding guns or taunting others with threats of violence. These homicides are thought to be suicidal in nature because Black men perceive suicide as a weak and "feminine" way out of problems, defining masculinity in terms of physical strength and toughness. Instead of giving into "cowardly" suicidal wishes, these young Blacks die, in their view, as heroes.

Seiden, R. H. (1981). Mellowing with age: Factors influencing the nonwhite suicide rate. International Journal of Aging and Human Development, 13, 265-284.

Various demographic studies are reviewed to show a marked and consistent divergence in White and nonwhite suicide rates. White suicide rates increase with age, yet nonwhite suicide rates peak in youthful years and decline during middle and later years. However, nonwhite suicide rates are lower than those of Whites at all ages. Several hypotheses are advanced to explain the decline in suicide rates with age: (1) differential life expectancy -- fewer nonwhites survive to the older years in which the risk of suicide is the greatest; (2) deviant burnout -- reduced level of aspirations has a calming effect on youthful turbulence; (3) screening-out of the violence-prone -- suicide and homicide are youth related problems in nonwhite communities, and many potential suicides die by homicide (twice the rate of White youth); (4) role and status of elderly -- elderly nonwhites are granted more purposeful roles and positive status than White elderly; (5) traditional values -- nonwhites have more respect for age and stress the importance of survival; (6) age-specific motives -- cultural pressure and unemployment selectively affect the younger members of the Black community more adversely. Implications are drawn stressing the strength of the Black community; i.e., the social cohesiveness and interpersonal bonds which have developed as coping mechanisms in an adverse environment.

Stein, M., Levy, J. J. & Glasberg, M. (1974). Separations in Black and White suicide attempters. Archives of General Psychiatry, 31, 815-821.

Childhood and antecedent separations were investigated by comparing White and Black suicide attempters with a matched (sex, age, race, and time of admission) control group of

non-suicidal psychiatric patients. These young adult subjects were interviewed in depth, focusing on childhood separation (physical separation from a parent, parent surrogate, or sibling of six months or more duration from birth to 17 years of age) and antecedent separation (disruption of a close interpersonal relationship within one year of hospital admission or of the suicide attempt). The results of data analysis indicated that there were significantly more White male and female patients with a history of early childhood (birth to seven years), childhood (birth to 17 years), and antecedent separations in the suicide attempt groups than in the control groups. The Black female suicide attempters significantly differed from controls on both early childhood and childhood measures of separation, yet Black male attempters differed from controls in regard to early childhood and antecedent separations. It was not possible in this study to statistically compare the Black and White groups since the suicide attempters as a whole were not matched by race with the nonattempters. The authors conclude that while the data confirm the relationship of separation or loss to suicidal behavior, separation may indirectly affect mental health as indicating life stress in general and adverse interpersonal relations existing prior to the separation. In regard to Blacks per se, Black attempters and controls had twice as many childhood separations as their White counterparts.

Warhauser, M. E. & Monk, M. (1978). Problems in suicide statistics for Whites and Blacks. American Journal of Public Health, 68, 383-388.

The accuracy of suicide statistics was assessed by comparing published health department suicide rates for an area of New York City with medical examiner records. Depending on the recording method used in a given year, Black suicides were underreported by as much as 82% and White suicides by 66%. Black suicides were more likely to be underestimated as a result of less complete histories obtained by investigating officials and greater use of jumping (as a method of suicide) where no note was obtained. The difficulty in assessing suicidal motivation and inconsistency of criteria used by various districts are cited as major factors contributing to the weakness of suicide statistics.

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Bagley, C. & Greer, S. (1972). Black suicide: A report of 25 English cases and controls. Journal of Social Psychology, 86, 176-179.

Bedrosian, R.C. & Beck, Aaron, T. (1978). Premature conclusions regarding Black and White suicide attempters: a reply to Steel. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 46, (6), 1498-99.

Bush, J. A. (1976). Suicide and Blacks: A conceptual framework. Suicide and Life Threatening Behavior, 6, 216-222.

Bush, J. A. (1978). Similarities and differences in precipitating events between Black and Anglo suicide attempts. Suicide and Life Threatening Behavior, 8, 243-249.

Copeland, A. R. (1985). Teenage suicide: The five-year Metro Dade County experience from 1979 until 1983. Forensic Science International, 28, 27-33.

Davis, R. (1980). Black suicide and the relational system: Theoretical and empirical implications of communal and familial ties. Research in Race and Ethnic Relations, 2, 43-71.

Davis, R. (1980). Suicide among young Blacks: trend and perspectives. Phylon, 41 (3), 223-29.

Davis, R. & Short, J. F. (1977). Dimensions of Black suicide: A theoretical model. Suicide and Life-Threatening Behavior, 8, 61-173.

Hendin, H. (1969). Black Suicide. New York: Basic Books.

Wylie, F. (1975). Suicide among Black families: a case study. In *Mental and physical health problems of Black women* (pp. 121-125). Washington, DC: Black Women's Community Development Foundation.

ACADEMIC-RELATED BEHAVIOR

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Summary

Research on the academic performance of Black youth constitutes a relatively extensive body of literature. The methods used range from sophisticated analyses of data collected from national samples to modest explorations of a phenomenon observed within a single classroom. Likewise, conceptual foci are extremely varied. There are studies to determine the extent to which relationships found in majority populations can be generalized to Black or minority populations, as well as studies to test theoretical formulations based on the realities Black youth face.

Despite the diversity of the literature three major foci may be identified. One focus is the educational environment and its influence on academic performance. In the 1960s and 1970s much of the literature reflected attempts to measure the impact of social experiments conducted in classrooms, schools, and communities. School desegregation was by far the most visible experiment, but attention was also focused on programs such as Upward Bound. According to Jones

(1984), the gap in the achievement of Black and White students has narrowed in the years since such initiatives began. In the 1980s, however, researchers have begun to examine Catholic schooling and its positive effects on the performance of Black students (Hoffer, Greeley & Coleman, 1985; Keith & Page, 1985).

The second focus is psychosocial components and their relationship to performance. Studies of the self-concept of ability, internal versus external locus of control, and other aspects of personal efficacy have been of interest for two decades (Epps, 1969; Lehn, Vladovic & Michael, 1980). Recent research has examined the role of attributional style; i.e., a measure of the tendency to attribute outcomes on dimensions of internality-externality, stability-instability, and global specific (Belgrave, Johnson & Carey, 1985); other investigations have examined the role of the family in fostering achievement behavior (Bowman & Howard, 1985).

The third focus includes studies that assess the effects of various factors on behavior and attitudes possibly related to academic achievement. Performance typically is not measured although it may be discussed. Self-concept has been studied extensively and longitudinal research, of which Hare's (1985) work is illustrative, is beginning to appear.

Research is needed that focuses on developmental tasks of Black adolescents and how school and academic achievement impede or facilitate progress on such tasks. In view of the high rates of school drop-outs and poor performance on standardized measures of reading and mathematics among Black youth, research is also needed on effective strategies for remediation in basic skills and prevention of school failure and attrition. Finally, an increased emphasis on within-group differences would help to fill gaps in the knowledge base and add alternative perspectives to a literature that has a preponderance of studies comparing Blacks and Whites.

Annotated References

Belgrave, F.Z., Johnson, R.S. & Carey, C. (1985). Attributional style and its relationship to self-esteem and academic performance in Black students. Journal of Black Psychology, 11 (2), 49-56.

This study explored the relationship between attributional style and self-esteem and attributional style and academic performance. There were two samples. One was comprised of 46 high school students in the 10th, 11th, and 12th grades, and the other was composed of 43 students enrolled at the University of Virginia. Instruments included the Attributional Style Questionnaire, a measure of tendencies to attribute outcomes on three dimensions; i.e., internal-external, stable-unstable, and global-specific; and the Rosenberg self-esteem scale. In both samples, an internal attributional style for negative events was

associated with lower self-esteem. whereas an internal attributional style for positive events was related to lower grade point averages.

Bowman, P.J. & Howard, C. (1985). Race-related socialization, motivation, and academic achievement: A study of Black youths in three-generation families. Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry, 24 (2), 134-141.

This study was designed to determine whether Black parents transmit to their children messages about racial status, whether such messages are differentially transmitted according to the child's gender, and whether race-related socialization affects personal efficacy or academic performance. Subjects were 377 Black youth aged 14 to 24 and members of the youngest cohort of a national, three-generation family sample. Measures included self-reports of school grades, a four-item index of personal efficacy, and two questions to tap race-related socialization themes transmitted by parents. Data were collected in 80-minute interviews. Subjects whose parents instilled awareness of racial barriers received higher grades. Orientation toward self-development was associated with a greater sense of personal efficacy.

Epps,E. (Ed.). (1969). Motivation and academic achievement of the Negro American (special issue). Journal of Social Issues, 25 (3).

This special issue of the Journal of Social Issues presented a set of studies and critiques that are invaluable resources for researchers interested in psychosocial and environmental factors in the achievement of Black students. Included is the seminal work of Gurin, Gurin, Lao and Beattie, entitled "Internal-External Control in the Motivational Dynamics of Negro Youth." Other articles include Katz' critique of personality approaches to Black performance, Epps' study of psychosocial correlates of academic achievement, and McPartland's study of the impact of school and classroom desegregation on academic performance of Black ninth-grade students.

Ford, D.S. (1985). Self-concept and perception of school atmosphere among urban junior high school students. Journal of Negro Education, 54 (1), 82-88.

This survey assessed the relationship of self-concept to perception of school atmosphere to determine if sex differences existed in the two variables. Subjects were ninth graders--53 males and 45 females, ages 14 to 17. All attended inner-city junior high schools. The measures included the Self-Observation Scales (SOS) and the School Atmosphere Questionnaire. Results indicated that more males than females scored high on the self-acceptance, self-security, self-assertion, and school affiliation subscales of the SOS, whereas more females than males scored high on the social confidence, peer affiliation, and teacher affiliation scales. Significant differences in perception of school atmosphere were found for students scoring low and high on the varied self-concept subscales.

Hare, B.R. (1985). Stability and change in self-perception and achievement among Black adolescents: A longitudinal study. Journal of Black Psychology, 11 (2), 29-42.

This study examined the extent of stability and change in self-esteem, achievement orientation, self-concept of ability, and academic achievement among Black adolescents and among Black youth as compared to White youth. Subjects were 250 youth who initially participated in 1977 as fifth graders. Eighty percent were surveyed again in 1980. Measures included the Hare measure of general self-esteem and Hare subscales for school, peer, and home self-esteem; the seven-item Rosenberg self-esteem measure; Epps' achievement orientation scale, and math and reading scores on the Metropolitan Achievement Test. Results indicated that Black adolescents showed a pattern of positive instability, that is on over half of the measures subject scores were unstable, but the direction of change in group means was a positive one. The implications for hypotheses about Black adolescent development are discussed.

Hoffer, T., Greeley, A.M. & Coleman, J.S. (1985). Achievement growth in public and Catholic schools. Sociology of Education, 58 (2), 74-97.

Earlier analyses of the differential impact of Catholic and public schools on the achievement of Black and Hispanic students and on that of the student population as a whole are extended to examine changes over the junior and senior years of high school. The samples were drawn from the High School and Beyond (HSB) sample and a variety of analytic techniques were used. The results indicated that Catholic schooling has a positive impact on growth in mathematics and

verbal achievement, that size of the effect is greater among Black, Hispanic and lower-income students, and that the effects are due to course requirements (e.g., homework and number of academic courses).

Jones, L.V. (1984). White-Black achievement differences: The narrowing gap. American Psychologist, 39, 1207-1213.

This article presents evidence on the reduction in average differences in achievement between Black and White students. For example findings from the National Assessment of Education Progress (NAEP) on the reading performance of Black and White students at ages nine, thirteen and seventeen indicated a decline in average performance differences at each age. Further evidence is presented from SAT data on verbal skills, and from NAPE and SAT data, as evidence of the narrowing gap in mathematical skills.

Keith, T.A. & Page, E.B. (1985). Do Catholic high schools improve minority student achievement? American Educational Research Journal, 22, 337-349.

This study compared the academic achievement of Black and Hispanic high school seniors enrolled in public schools with the achievement of their counterparts enrolled in Catholic schools. The sample was drawn from the first (1980) wave of the High School and Beyond (HBS) sample and included 3552 Blacks and 3146 Hispanics from public schools, and 370 Blacks and 485 Hispanics from Catholic schools. Factors examined in various path models were family background, school type, achievement (a summation of scores on reading and math tests administered to the HSB sample), and student ability, which Catholic schools often use as a criterion for selection. Results indicated that with student ability controlled, Catholic schooling produced a smaller effect on achievement than previous studies had revealed. Further analysis indicated that the impact of Catholic schooling may be attributed in part to more stringent curriculum.

Lee, C.C. (1984). An investigation of psychosocial variables related to academic success for rural Black adolescents. Journal of Negro Education, 53 (4), 424-434.

The objective of this study was to examine the relationship between selected psychosocial variables and academic success in rural Black adolescents. Subjects were 110 students in grades eight to twelve. They completed a

questionnaire comprised of seven scales: Family Life, School, Social Relationships, Activities-Interests, The Future, Morals-Attitudes, and Self-Concept. Reading and mathematics scores for each student on the California Achievement Test were obtained from the students' schools. Success in reading and math was related to nine school-related variables including realistic academic self-evaluations and study habits; eight family variables, including high degree of parental control and sense of responsibility; and seven variables pertaining to social relationships.

Lehn, T., Vladovic, R. & Michael, W.B. (1980). The short-term predictive validity of a standardized reading test and of scales reflecting six dimensions of academic self-concept relative to selected high school achievement criteria for four ethnic groups. Educational and Psychological Measurement, 40, 1017-1031.

This study had two objectives: 1) to determine the short-term predictive validity of the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills (CTBS) reading score, sex, and six academic performance and 2) to determine whether an affective measure (on one or more of six self-concept scales) and a cognitive measure (CTBS reading) would provide a more valid prediction of grade point average than the cognitive measure alone. Subjects were 548 11th graders (274 males, 274 females; 292 Anglos, 28 Asians, 38 Blacks and 190 Latinos). Intercorrelations of all variables were computed, and stepwise multiple regression analyses were conducted to determine the correlation between grade point average and optimally weighted combinations of predictor variables.

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EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE

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Summary

Adolescence is usually identified as a transitory stage in human development between childhood and adulthood. However, research on Black adolescent youth is limited in focus, generally concentrating on maladaptive social behaviors (Gibbs, 1985) and neglecting the experiences of Black female adolescents altogether. This summary will review research on significant factors that influence the educational attainment of Black adolescent females by assessing the learning environment and the occupational choices of this group.

The Impact of the Learning Environment

The learning environment is a significant influence in the academic achievement and the intellectual development of students. Three components of the learning environment serve as the focus of this summary: teacher role, the type of school, and racial attitudes.

Studies of the relationship between teacher expectation and student performance substantiate the theory that teacher expectation influences student performance (Baron, Tom, & Cooper, 1985; Brophy, 1981; Lightfoot, 1976). Research on the relationship of teacher expectation and race suggests that teachers also influence the academic development of nonwhite children. There is also evidence that teacher expectation can influence student performance along gender lines. (DeBord, Griffin & Clark, 1977).

Two examinations of teacher perceptions of students reveal the way students are viewed as learners. A study by Pollard (1979) indicates that White female students were evaluated by teachers as "better" than all other students. Washington (1982) reports that Black teachers in desegregated classrooms were generally more critical of Black female students, and White teachers in similar classrooms were more critical of White male students. Grant (1984) notes that teachers perceived Black females as socially mature but not as academically competent as their White counterparts.

The literature does not link conclusively the relationship between teachers' perceptions and the educational development of Black female adolescents. However, it does suggest serious difficulty in the

interaction between teachers and students when teachers hold a negative perception of Black females. Further, the literature warns that a negative teacher bias can jeopardize the intellectual and academic development of Black adolescent females.

The research on teacher attitude documents the resulting impact on student retention . Timberlake (1981) studied a group of high school Black females identified as "high risk" students and found that those defined as persisters generally have a more positive attitude about schooling than non-persisters. Such positive attitudes are attributable to the amount of concern teachers demonstrate. Conversely, the lack of teacher concern was identified as a factor among non-persisters.

Research on secondary school characteristics such as racial composition and curricular focus show that these may have an impact on the educational experiences of Black females. In a study on two types of high schools, Chester (1983) found that Black females expressed lower aspirations and less relevant vocational interests in a liberal arts school than those Black females enrolled in a vocational school. One cause of the discrepancy in performance seems tied to both race and gender distinctions. Also, in secondary schools where the climate was unfavorable to

Blacks, the academic performance of Black females was diminished. Black males attending these schools were not as adversely affected (Crain, Mahard & Narot, 1982).

Another significant factor in the academic achievement and intellectual development of Black female students is the racial overtone of the learning environment. Studies of desegregated classrooms indicate that Black females feel more socially isolated than their Black or White peers. While academic achievement among Black students is lower than among White students in the same class setting, Crain & Mahard (1978) and Hare (1979) report that Black females exhibit higher academic achievement than their Black male counterparts.

Several researchers have found Black female students possess highly developed interpersonal skills in their interactions with both Black and White peers and teachers (Crain and Mahard, 1978; Grant, 1984; Reid, 1982; Scott-Jones & Clark, 1986). As a group they are also less likely than their White or Black peers to be intimidated by verbal or physical aggression; however, Black females demonstrate more of an egalitarian attitude than other students.

Racial attitudes among students and teachers are significant factors in the psycho-social and academic development of Black females. The classroom is a microcosm

of the society. Studies on the social adjustment of students in desegregated schools indicate that students prefer to socialize along gender and racial lines more often than along interracial lines. (Sager & Schofield, 1980). These findings are corroborated by other studies (Byalick & Bersoff, 1974; DeVries & Edwards, 1977).

Influences on Occupational Choice

Much of the literature on occupational choices among Blacks is based on studies of college students and adult populations (Allen, 1978; Winters & Frankel, 1984; Bell-Scott, 1977). Smith (1982) observes that a major reason for this focus on adults is a presumed level of maturity and the belief that a more adult population understands work values more than adolescents.

Research on the occupational concerns of Black females concentrates primarily on related employment or work issues. Murray (1985) argues that studies on the work experience of Black female adolescents can be grouped into four categories: the sex-role of occupational choices (Hall, 1973; Winters & Frankel, 1984); rates of participation by Black teenaged girls in the labor force (Wallace, Datcher & Malveaux, 1980); the effects of teenaged non-employment on the subsequent success in the labor market (Corcoran, 1980);

and the inadequacy of Black girls' preparation for work (Roderick & Davis, 1973; Wallace 1974). Some studies on Black female adolescents show that they exhibit comparable or higher educational or career aspirations than their White cohorts (Allen, 1979; George, 1981; Hare, 1979). Other works reveal that Black females appear less able to focus on attaining their expectations than any other group (Allen, 1978; Dillard and Perrin, 1980; Hare, 1979; Murray, 1985; Winters & Frankel, 1984). The literature reveals that many of the educational experiences of Black female adolescents do not provide either the necessary information or the required skills to actualize their career aspirations.

Although the experience of Black women in American society validates the realization that work will be an integral part of their lives, "chance" rather than planned educational experiences determines their occupational choices.

Annotated References

Allen, W. (1979). Family roles, occupational statuses, and achievement orientations among Black women in the United States. Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 4, 670-686.

This article discusses the status of Black females in the labor force by comparing their occupational status and achievement orientation. Data were used from a national longitudinal study of 21,000 high school seniors during the period of 1964-1974. Results indicate that many Black females had shifted in employment from service work to white-collar positions. Educational aspirational levels were higher among Black than among White females.

Chester, N. (1983). Sex differentiation in two high school environments: Implications for career development among Black adolescent females. Journal of Social Issues, 39, (3) 29-40.

This is a report of a comparative study of 127 Black males and females on career-related variables at two high schools; one a predominately White liberal arts school and the other an integrated vocational high school. The hypotheses were that sex differences exist among Black students in each of the schools and that sex differences would favor males. These hypotheses were confirmed. One of the recommendations was that additional studies based on gender differentiations be done to assess group behavior, particularly on Black females.

George, V.D. (1981). Occupational aspirations of talented adolescent females. Paper presented at the meeting of the Association for Women in Psychology, Boston, MA.

George compares career aspirational levels of Black and White girls. The results indicate that Black subjects had high aspirational levels. White subjects did not differ from Blacks in their aspiration levels; however, they had a lower incidence of fear of success than Black adolescents. The study suggests that socioeconomic factors exert a strong influence on subject responses.

Hare, B.R. (1979). Black girls: A comparative analysis of self-perception and achievement by race, sex and socioeconomic background. (Report No. 271). Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University, Center for Social Organization of schools.

This is a report of comparisons of self-esteem and academic achievement among fifth grade Black and White students. The findings indicate that Black girls occupy a psychological and academic middle ground when compared with

other groups. For example, White girls had higher reading and math test scores than Black girls, but Black girls scored higher than Black boys. Black boys scored higher on the non-academic categories. Hare concludes that further study on gender difference among Black children is needed.

Lightfoot, S.L. (1976). Socialization and education of young Black girls in school. Teachers College Record, 78 (2), 239-262.

This article reviews influences in the socialization of Black girls. Two major sources for learning about the educational experiences of Black girls are identified: (1) literature on teacher's relationship with young Black girls and (2) literature on teacher's reactions to Black children in the classroom. The author suggests that explorations beyond the classroom be considered in analyzing the behaviors and the socialization of Black girls.

Murray, S.R. (1985). Investigating and understanding the educational needs of Black girls. American Institutes for Research: Washington, DC (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 267166)

This article discusses three research approaches that focus on Black girls. These approaches suggest: (1) the use of research priorities (2) the use of personal experiences and (3) the uses of evaluative studies from existing educational programs, such as the LINCKS program created in Washington, D.C. in 1982.

Shofield, J.W. & Francis, W.D. (1982). An observational study of peer interaction in racially-mixed accelerated classrooms. Bethesda, MD: National Institute of Health.

This is a study of peer interaction in four racially mixed classrooms with a population of 69 White and 32 Black eighth-grade children. The investigators found more cross-race peer interaction among this population than in previous studies. However, the students tended to interact more with peers of their own race than with peers of another race. Girls exhibited strong race preference while interactions of boys were more mutual. The study concludes that interactions within-race were more social, and interactions cross-race interactions were more task-oriented.

Scott-Jones, D., & Clark, M. (1986). The school experiences of Black girls: the interaction of gender, race, and socioeconomic status. Phi Delta Kappa 67 (7), 520-526.

Scott-Jones and Clark discuss educational experiences of Black girls in schools as influenced by gender, race and economic status. The investigators report that all three factors significantly impact the psycho-social and intellectual development of Black girls. An analysis of the literature reveals that teachers perceive Black girls as more socially than academically competent, that the educational environment is negatively biased against Black girls, and that attending to sex equity should benefit both Black and White students. The major recommendation is for more research which covers all three variables without mixing them.

Sims, R. (1983). Strong Black girls: a ten year old responds to fiction about Afro-Americans. Journal of Research and Development in Education, 16 (3), 21-28.

Sims reports on an interview with a young Black female adolescent who enjoyed reading about Black girls. Reactions and responses to books about Afro-Americans are discussed. The interview contains two parts: (1) research on the response to content of such books and (2) an analysis of approximately 150 books of contemporary realistic fiction about Afro-Americans. Insights into what young adolescent females want in fiction about Afro-Americans are offered.

Smith, E.J. (1982). The Black female adolescent: a review of the education, career and psychological literature. Psychology of Women Quarterly 6 (3), 261-288.

Smith discusses research on the socialization of Black adolescent females and refutes the notion that Black families encourage females to achieve or aspire to higher educational and career levels than their male counterparts. Black females in high school tend to have higher educational and career aspirations than both Black males and White females. The study suggests that school desegregation adversely affects the educational and career aspirations of Black females more than Black males. Attending predominately White institutions may have a similar negative effect on the self-concept and feelings of acceptance among Black females. Much of the literature suggests that whatever educational and career successes Black adolescent

females attain are accomplished despite incredible odds.

Timberlake, C.H. (1981, October). Attitudinal differences of Black female secondary students which may influence their graduating from high school. Paper presented at the meeting of the National Black Child Development Institute, Washington, DC.

The purpose of this study of secondary Black females is to determine if persisters and non-persisters attitudes were influenced by peers, teachers, school work and the school environment. The results suggest that a positive attitude toward school work and school in general contribute significantly in aiding Black females to complete high school.

Winters, A.S. & Frankel, J. (1984). Women's work role as perceived by lower status White and Black female adolescents. Adolescence, 29 (74), 403-415.

This article discusses the results of a study on Black and White female adolescents attending an alternative school on the perceptions of women's work roles. The results indicate no significant differences between the two groups of women. Both groups of women had egalitarian views of women's roles. Two subscales on the questionnaire revealed that they differed greatly in their perceptions of women in the home. In terms of sex-role development, both groups maintained the importance of establishing a sense of worth in relationship to one's work.

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FAMILY-ADOLESCENT RELATIONSHIPS

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Summary

The tendency in much family social science research has been to document dysfunction and pathology. Nowhere is this tendency more glaring than in the investigation of Black family-adolescent relationships. Before 1975, most research in this area focused almost exclusively on the effect of father absence and maternal role ambivalence on Black male youth and adolescents (Bell-Scott, 1976). In fact, the alleged inadequate gender role socialization of males and the attenuated structure of families have been underlying themes in research and social policy pertaining to Black families for the past 40 years.

Despite two decades of interest in gender role development and recent attention to the problems of adolescent parenthood, systematic studies of Black family-adolescent relationships are sparse (Bell-Scott & McKenry, 1986). No unifying theoretical frameworks have emerged; and concepts are often loosely borrowed from a broad array

of perspectives; e.g. psychoanalytic and role modeling theories. Consistent with previous trends, recent studies remain focused on behavioral difficulties and social problems, such as drug abuse and school failure. Though evidence of the impact of adolescents' behaviors upon family dynamics and the extended family's significance to the well-being of adolescents has increased, studies which explore these issues remain few in number.

In terms of research design and methodology, longitudinal studies which explore family process and dynamics are extremely rare. Most studies have been based on non-random samples or cross-sectional surveys. Questionnaires and interviews requiring self-report are the typical means of data collection. Moreover, urban residents and captive or clinical populations (e.g., adolescents participating in a program for teen parents or economically disadvantaged youth) are disproportionately represented in the literature.

Since 1980 more attention has been devoted to the issues of race, class, and gender as important variables in the research process; and efforts to reduce the biasing effects of these variables have increased. For example, many researchers now attempt to match interviews and interviewees along racial/ethnic and gender lines. Though ethnocultural differences exist within most large, urban communities,

researchers generally ignore these differences or underestimate their significance. Myers (1982) suggests that ethnocultural background (e.g., Haitian, Puerto Rican, or Jamaican heritage) may be a critical variable in family-adolescent relationships in cities where sizeable Black ethnic enclaves thrive.

Current research on family-adolescent relationships suggests that: (1) The extended family is central to the well-being of most adolescents--especially those who become parents in adolescence (Dressler, 1985; Furstenberg, 1980; Wilson, 1986; (2) The family, particularly the mother, is a critical source of information about many issues (e.g., sexuality, health) for females and often males (Fox & Inazu, 1980; Hendricks, 1980; Joseph, 1984; Stevens, 1984); (3) Adolescent parenthood brings both disadvantages and advantages to the family (Furstenberg, 1980); and (4) Adolescent parenthood impacts dramatically upon the adolescent's family (Poole & Hoffman, 1982).

There is a clear need for more investigation of family-adolescent relationships. Studies which utilize representative samples, examine ethnocultural, gender, and class differences and rely upon multiple methods would be extremely valuable. Also studies which examine the neglected issues of parental role satisfaction, sibling

relationships, and family violence are sorely needed.

Leigh & Peterson (1986) suggest several conceptual modifications for future research. These modifications would devote attention to: (1) the influence of adolescents upon other family members (e.g., siblings); (2) the reciprocity between adolescents and parents; (3) the interface between adolescent development and family system; and (4) the impact of events and historical variations on family-adolescent relationships. Finally, though adolescent drug abusers and parents are certainly deserving of continued study, a complete picture of adolescent development requires study of family-adolescent relationships across the spectrum of Black communities and family types.

Annotated References

Allen, W.R. (1978). Race, family setting and adolescent achievement orientation. Journal of Negro Education, 47 (3), 230-243.

This is a report from a 1974 survey of male adolescents and their families in Chicago. Sample consisted of 120 two-parent families, with at least one son aged 14-18 living in the home. Findings suggest racial differences in the dynamics of achievement orientation development. Among Blacks, the mother was the central figure in the determination of adolescent level of mobility aspirations, while among Whites it was the father.

Andresen, T.T. (1974). Mother-Daughter dyadic dominance in

Black American kinship. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL.

This is an analysis of the content of kinship and household behavior in two Black neighborhoods of metropolitan Chicago--one a suburb and the other-inner city. Within these two neighborhoods eighteen households were selected; ten in the suburban neighborhood, eight in the Lawndale section of the inner-city. The hypothesis supported by this study is that the mother-daughter dyad is the focal point in kinship systems of many Black American families. The author argues against negative evaluation of matrifocal kinship, which derives from the dominant culture's assumptions about "natural" and "appropriate" kinship roles and kinship sentiments. This kind of evaluation ignores many of the inherent strengths in the patterns of affective behavior emanating from the dominant mother-daughter attributes of inclusiveness, continuity, diffuseness, cooperativeness and dependence. Mother-daughter kinship content produces affective social bonds that are much more nurturing and supportive than those that result from the dominance of the husband-wife dyad which is the focal point in White American kinship systems. The author also presents a theoretical model for mother-daughter dominance in which attributes, features, and effects of the dyad on other dyads-relationships are discussed.

Ball, R.E. & Robbins, L. (1985, November). Parental satisfaction of Black fathers. Paper presented at the meeting of the National Council on Family Relations, Dallas.

This study reports on the parental role satisfaction of a probability sample of 177 Black fathers from four counties in central Florida and finds that 70% perceived their relationships with their children as being "very satisfying". Only seven percent were less than "fairly satisfied". This high level of parental satisfaction persisted regardless of marital status, income or education level, or age of the father. Thus difficulties brought about by factors such as low income and educational levels seem not to impair the parental role satisfaction of these Black fathers. Positively related to satisfaction were social participation - -indicated by frequency of contact with relatives, friends, and church. This study provides evidence that in at least the expressive facet of the parental role, family income does not appear to play a major part. The authors conclude that high rates of family break-up and father absence do not necessarily lead to unsatisfactory parent-child relationships, at least in

regard to the domain of parental satisfaction investigated.

Bell-Scott, P. (1976). A critical overview of sex roles research on Black families. Women Studies Abstract, 5 (2), 1-9; Additional reference materials and bibliographies related to sex role development in Black families. Women Studies Abstracts, 5 (2), 10-14.

This is one of the earliest reviews of the literature relevant to Black sex roles development. Particular attention is devoted to criticism of early research (before 1965), discussion of new research in four areas (i.e., attitudes towards family roles, decision-making and the concept of power in dyadic relationships, role of adult males who do not reside in the family household, and socialization of children into sexual behavior). The need for research in several areas (e.g., sexuality among adolescents, father-daughter relationships) is outlined. Also included is an extensive bibliography.

Bell-Scott, P. & McKenry, P.C. (1977). Some suggestions for teaching about Black adolescence. The Family Coordinator, 26 (1), 46-51.

This paper seeks to explore a neglected area in family life education -- Black adolescence. The influence that Black culture has upon the maturation process is discussed. Some suggestions for exploring Black adolescent experiences are outlined for educators and other helping professionals.

Bell-Scott, P. & McKenry, P.C. (1986). Black adolescents and their families. In G.K. Leigh & Peterson, G.W. Adolescents in Families (pp. 410-432). Cincinnati: South-Western.

This review includes a demographic profile of Black adolescents and their families, a discussion of theoretical perspectives and methodological issues, as well as implications for practice and research. Particular attention is devoted to the issues of identity formation, self-concept, sexuality, and alcohol and drug abuse.

Crastinopol. M.G. (1982). Disturbances in mother-daughter relationships of women offenders. Counseling and Values, 26, 172-179.

This is a case study analysis of 12 women offenders (three Black, one Asian, and eight White); most were from low-income families. Crastinopol suggests that the mother-daughter bond has strong repercussions on the daughter's adult sense of self; that deprivations of the old mother-child tie are recreated and revisited in the relationships of women offenders with their own children; and that separation-individuation theory might be a useful perspective in understanding and treating the complex psychosocial problems of women offenders.

Cross, W.E. (1981). Black families and Black identity development: Rediscovering the distinction between self-esteem and reference group orientation. Journal of Comparative Studies, XII 1, 19-49.

This is a critical review essay of the research on Black families and Black identity development. Cross argues that when studies of family life and identity development are separated and analysed, neither offer evidence of negative identity in Blacks; rather it was found that (1) the personal identity of Black children matched that of White cohorts, and (2) Black people have shown a dramatic shift in reference group orientation subsequent to the Black social movement. The author also suggests that racial and personal identity may be unrelated or rather independent domains. This article provides an excellent, analytical review of the themes, perspectives and methodological strategies prevalent in Black family and Black identity research from the 1920s to the late 1960s. This review has particular relevance for research on family-adolescent relationships.

Farmer, B.M. (1979). Black family structure and its effect on adolescents. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, Riverside, CA.

This study sought to identify family structures found in a poor, inner-city, Black community and to relate these structures to adolescent feelings about self, family, community, and race. Relationships between family structures and adolescent aspirations and social participation were also examined. Data collected from a sample of 385 persons aged 13 to 17 years as part of a larger study of Black living patterns in Washington, D.C. were used for the analyses. Of the 385 households, 147 (38 percent) of the teenagers lived in nuclear families, 50 (13 percent) lived in single-parent families, and 188 (49 percent) lived in extended kin groups. Farmer found

statistically significant differences between nuclear, single-parent and extended kin group families as follows: (1) Power distribution in the making of decisions varied by family type with fathers dominating in nuclear families and mothers having more power in other forms; (3) Interaction with friends in a home setting was more likely for teenagers from nuclear families; (4) Interaction with friends in the form of lending things and doing favors was more likely to occur for teenagers from nuclear families; (5) Interaction with kin occurred more often in single-parent families; (6) Teenagers from single parent families shared meals with kin more frequently than those from other families; (7) Preference for steady jobs were expressed by nuclear family and extended kin teenagers, while single-parent teenagers sought rapid job advancement; (8) Nuclear family teenagers aspired to complete more years of schooling than others; (9) Fathers in nuclear families had completed more years of school; (10) Single-parent families were more likely to have lived in White neighborhoods; (11) Nuclear family teenagers believed Blacks should improve the community by themselves more often than did teenagers from other families; and (12) More extended kin teenagers favored allowing Whites in Black organizations.

Fox, G.L. & Inazu, J.K. (1980). Mother-daughter communication about sex. Family Relations, 29, 347-352; G.L. Fox, & Inazu, J.K. (1980). Patterns and outcomes on mother-daughter communication and sexuality. Journal of Social Issues, 36, 7-29.

This study examines patterns of mother-daughter communication on six topics: menstruation, dating and boyfriends, sexual morality, the process of conception, sexual intercourse, and birth control. The sample included 898 mothers and their teenage daughters from Detroit. Fifty-six percent were Black, 44% were White. Demographic, attitudinal, and behavioral data were collected in simultaneous face-to-face interviews, each of which lasted about one hour. Interviewers were matched by age and race to the respondents. Approximately half the interviews were conducted at the research site; the remainder were conducted in the respondents home. Most mothers and daughters reported having discussed all six topics. They generally agreed on age at which each topic was introduced and the frequency of communication; but differed in terms of who is seen as the initiator of discussion, how comfortable they are discussing sex, and whether more discussion is wanted. Racial differences were found in communication about sex on the topics of conception, sexual intercourse, and birth

control: twenty-five percent of the White mothers compared to 15% of Black mothers have never talked about birth control; sixteen percent of Black mothers have never discussed conception compared to 11% of White mothers. The investigators concluded that the smilarities outweigh the differences across family background characteristics. Mothers who were heads of households were more likely than mothers in male-headed homes to talk frequently with daughters about sex.

Fox, G.L. & Medlin, C. (in press). Accuracy in mothers' perception of daughters' level of sexual involvement: Black and White single mothers and their teenage daughters. Family Perspectives.

This study examined the relationships between parental knowledge of teen sexual behavior and quality of parent-teen relationships, patterns of communication about sex, and parental supervision in a sample of mother-daughter dyads from Black and White single-parent homes. Systematic differences were found between accurate and inaccurate mother-daughter dyads in quality of the mother-daughter relationship, communication styles and control behaviors. Few significant race differences were found within accurate and inaccurate groups. However, White mothers were significantly more accurate than Black mothers about daughters' level of sexual involvement. Implications for research and family life educators are suggested.

Furstenberg, F.F. (1980). Burden and benefits: the impact of early childbearing on the family. Journal of Social Issues, 36 (1), 64-87.

The investigator concluded that unwed pregnancy has some redeeming features for the adolescent's family--such as building family morale, intensifying family exchanges, and filling the empty nest. Moreover, the transition to parenthood is eased by the child care instruction, as well as material assistance, provided by the mother of the teen mother.

Furstenberg, F.F. & Crawford, A.G. (1978). Family support: helping teenage mothers to cope. Family Planning Perspectives, 10 (6), 322-333.

This study examined the role of family supports in the lives of teen mothers. They found that residential careers

of adolescent mothers were closely tied to the family of origin; and that adolescent mothers who remained in the grandmother's household were more likely to complete school and were less likely to continue to receive welfare when compared to girls who set up separate households.

Joseph, G.I. (1984). Black mothers and daughters: traditional and new populations. SAGE: A Scholarly Journal on Black Women, 1 (2), 17-21.

This article addresses the lack of research on Black mother-daughter relationships. Issues among heterosexual and lesbian daughter-mother relationships are discussed. The author concludes that conflicting messages about men from mothers, unrealistic expectations among teenage mothers, and homophobia in the Black community are critical issues.

Ladner, J. (1971). Tomorrow's tomorrow: the Black woman. New York: Doubleday.

This is a classic study of socialization and maturation of Black girls in an urban setting. Particular attention is devoted to the significance of motherhood in the socialization process. Investigator employed participant-observation technique.

Ladner, J.A. & Gourdine, R.M. (1984). Intergenerational teenage motherhood: some preliminary findings. SAGE: A Scholarly Journal on Black Women, 1 (2), 22-24.

This is a report from a pilot study of teenage motherhood. The sample included 30 teenage daughters and their mothers who likewise had their first child during their teenage years. Separate and joint interviews were conducted with these mother-daughter pairs. The majority of the grandmothers were in their thirties; the youngest was 29 years old. The researchers found that grandmothers complained about unmet emotional and social needs, looked to their daughters as a source or emotional support, had many health problems, provided limited contraceptive information to their daughters, and gave their daughters some form of child care but did not assume primary responsibility. Daughters have limited knowledge of effective contraceptive use, negative attitudes about abortion, and difficulty returning to school. The authors conclude that teenage pregnancy among single households reinforces a strong

intergenerational pattern of poverty.

Peters, M.F. (1975). Socialization of Black children: A critical review of the literature on parent-child relationships and socialization patterns within the Black family. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 117 225)

This paper provides a critical overview of the literature on the socialization of Black children. Author examines assumptions, conceptual models, and methodologies of previous research. A child-family-society interaction model is proposed. Implications for policy and research are drawn. Extensive bibliography included.

Poole, C.J. & Hoffman, M. (1981). Mothers of adolescent mothers: How do they cope? Pediatric Nursing, 7, 28-31; Poole, C.J., Smith, M.S. & Hoffman, M. (1982). Mothers of adolescent mothers. Journal of Adolescent Health, 3, 28-31.

The purpose of this study was to explore the problems faced by forty-four mothers of adolescent mothers and to devise a plan for intervention. Women were interviewed about the impact of grandchildren and daughter's teen pregnancy upon their lives. Seventy-five percent of the women lived in urban areas; 52% were Black; and 32% had their first child when they were 17 or younger. Three situations were identified: (1) Grandmother is burdened emotionally and otherwise because daughter does not accept responsibility for baby; (2) Grandmother is ashamed of daughter's pregnancy, has little confidence in daughter's judgement, and becomes restrictive in attitudes towards her daughter; (3) Grandmother is available for emotional and financial support--taking care of infant on occasion; however, daughter accepts responsibility for baby. Investigators found that grandmothers in each situation could benefit from educational, financial, social, emotional, and medical support and services (e.g., discussion groups with other mothers of teen mothers); that discussion of problem-solving management techniques would be extremely valuable; that the problems of adolescent pregnancy extend directly to the new grandmothers, and that major problems usually did not occur unless the time and life plans of the grandmother were significantly affected.

Presser, H.B. (1980). Sally's corner: coping with unmarried motherhood. Journal of Social Issues, 36, (1), 107-129.

Presser concludes that the survival of the unmarried mother depends heavily upon parental support, particularly from their own mothers, and on public assistance. She also suggests that the role of the unmarried mother's family, especially the well-being of her own mother, must be considered in efforts to assist unmarried mothers and their children.

Reilly, S. (1962). The relationships of 55 Negro adolescent unmarried mothers toward their own mothers. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Catholic University, Washington, DC.

This study is part of a larger research project which focused on the interests, attitudes, and habits of low-income Black adolescent unmarried mothers. The sample consisted of 55 females between 13 and 19 who delivered babies out-of-wedlock at the Washington, D.C. General Hospital between November 2 to December 3. Data were collected via one interview of one and one-half hours in duration, usually the day after delivery. The investigator concluded that poor mother-daughter relationships contribute to early, unwed motherhood. Most of the subjects described difficulties in relationships with mothers. Only 11 girls, who lived with their mothers since birth, reported positive relationships with them; whereas 13 girls described hostile relationships with their mothers or mother substitute. Only 15 girls described having received adequate sex instruction.

Stack, C. (1974). All our kin: strategies for survival in a Black community. New York: Harper & Row.

This is a classic study of Black kinship networks in an urban setting. Investigator employed participant-observation technique. Particular attention is devoted to the significance of maternal and female kinship bonds. The potential impact of researcher's (racial and class) bias in the research process is discussed.

West, F.L. (1946). A mother-daughter study of thirty families as bases for a vocational guidance program. Unpublished master's thesis, Hampton Institute, Hampton Institute, Hampton, VA.

This study explored the relationship between the vocational experiences and problems of thirty mothers who studied home economics and their daughters who (at the time

of this investigation) were studying home economics at a junior high school in Atlanta. A control group of mothers who had not studied home economics at the same school but had daughters taking the subject were also included in the study. Data were collected from several sources: personal interview with parents, personal interview with pupils, questionnaire filled out by pupils, school records of pupils, questionnaire filled out by pupils, school records of pupils, and conversations with parents' employers. The investigator found vocational/home economics training to be related to increased educational status and socio-economic advantage. A positive relationship was also found between the attitudes of mothers and daughters.

Wilson, M.N. (1986). The Black extended family: An analytical consideration. Developmental Psychology, 22 (2), 246-258.

This paper provides a critical overview of the literature on the Black extended family. Author examines assumptions, conceptual models and methodological strategies of previous research. A model which explores the life cycle of Black extended families is proposed. Implications for policy, therapy, and research are outlined. Extensive bibliography included.

Wyatt, G.E. (1985). The sexual abuse of Afro-American and White-American women in childhood. Child Abuse & Neglect, 9, 507-519.

This study examined the prevalence of child sexual abuse in a multi-stage stratified probability sample of Afro-American and White-American women, 18 to 36 years of age in Los Angeles County. Data were collected by four highly trained interviewers who matched the subjects' ethnicity. Interviews were conducted at the location of subject's choice in two sessions, ranging from three to eight hours. At the completion of the interview, referrals for mental health services were provided for those subjects who expressed an interest or need. Of the sample of 248 subjects, 154 (62%) reported at least one incident of sexual abuse prior to age 18. No statistically significant difference in prevalence rates existed between ethnic groups. Fifty-two percent of Afro-American women as compared to 48% of White women reported more than one abuse incident. Fifteen percent of the Afro-American and 17% of the White women were found to have experienced significantly more abuse in the early childhood period (six to eight

years), whereas Afro-American women experienced more abuse as pre-adolescents. Sexual abuse occurred for both groups commonly in the home of the child or perpetrator, on the street or in the neighborhood. Three-fourths of the incidents reported by both groups involved a single occurrence of abuse with a given perpetrator. About 95% of all perpetrators were males, 61% of whom were between 25 and 55. Eighty-one percent of both groups were abused by a perpetrator of their own ethnic group. The investigator concluded that young Afro-American pre-teens are most likely to experience contact abuse in their homes, by mostly Black perpetrators, who may be nuclear or extended family members; whereas White women may be at risk during the early childhood and pre-school years by mostly White perpetrators, who may involve them in contact abuse incidents indoors and non-contact abuse incidents out-of-doors.

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SEXUALITY AND CONTRACEPTION

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Summary

This section primarily covers empirical studies and review articles concerning sexual and contraceptive behavior. Also included is research comparing the background characteristics of adolescent parents and nonparents, and on factors associated with repeat pregnancy. Studies of family interaction in teen families and interaction between teen parents and their own parents or social agencies appear in the bibliography section on teen parenting. Studies included here either report data for Black adolescents separately within larger samples, analyze race as an explanatory variable within a sample, or use predominantly Black samples.

Current concern about teen pregnancy as a social problem has stimulated great research interest in adolescent sexual and contraceptive behavior. Data from the surveys of national representative samples of adolescents conducted by Zelnik and Kantner in 1971, 1976, and 1979 (females in all

years, males only in 1979) indicate that Black adolescents have higher rates of sexual activity and premarital pregnancy than do White adolescents (Zelnik and Kanter, 1980; Zelnik and Shah, 1983). Interestingly, the racial differential in rates of sexual activity is greater for females than for males. At the same time, Blacks compare more favorably to Whites on several other indicators. For example, fewer Blacks than Whites have many sexual partners, and fewer Blacks have intercourse very frequently (Zelnik & Kantner, 1977). In addition, rates of teen pregnancy rose less for Blacks than Whites during 1971-1979 (Zelnik and Shah, 1983), and some recent evidence suggests that pregnancy rates are now falling for Blacks while still rising for Whites. Further, rates of later premarital pregnancy subsequent to a first premarital pregnancy are falling for Blacks while rising for Whites (Koenig & Zelnik, 1982). It is also noteworthy that in contrast to the findings from national representative samples, several studies using mixed-race-inner city male samples find little variation in sexual behavior by race or ethnicity (Finkel & Finkel; 1975; Norman, 1977). This may suggest that when social class is controlled, race accounts for relatively little variation in adolescent sexuality.

As reported by females, rates of contraceptive use are somewhat lower among Blacks than Whites, but the rate of

utilization of prescription methods (which are more effective than nonprescription methods) is higher for Blacks (Zelnik and Shah, 1983). Nathanson and Becker's (1986) data suggests that somewhat different dynamics are involved for White and Black females in seeking contraceptives from a family planning clinic. While White females reported greater encouragement to seek contraception from the boyfriend and female peers, Black females reported greater support for the clinic visit from their mothers.

Another study illustrating differential correlates of sexual and/or contraceptive behavior is Furstenberg, Moore, and Peterson's (1985) analysis of the 1981 National Survey of Children. Exposure to sex education predicted low rather than high sexual activity among all race-sex groups except Black male adolescents (aged 12-17), among whom low exposure was associated with higher rates of sexual activity.

Other studies investigate correlates of Black teen parenthood. Rivara, Sweeney, & Henderson (1985), for example, found that teen fathers did not differ from nonfathers in age at initiation or frequency of sexual activity, or knowledge of contraception, but that teen fathers less often saw pregnancy as disruptive to educational or vocational plans, and more often had mothers who were teen parents.

In overview, a variety of lines of research within the area of adolescent sexuality and contraception have been established. Many studies in this research literature include Black subsamples or focus predominantly on Blacks. It has become routine for researchers to analyze and report racial similarities and differences in sexual and contraceptive behavior. More work is needed, however, in investigations of possible differential dynamics of sexual (e.g. homosexual behavior) and contraceptive behavior among different racial and ethnic groups.

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Center for Population Research, National Institute of Child Health and Human Development. (1986). Adolescent pregnancy and childbearing-- Rates, trends, and research findings from the CPR, NICHD. Bethesda, MD: Center for Population Research.

This report summarizes current national statistics on adolescent pregnancy and childbearing, as well as major recent studies sponsored by CPR, NICHD. During the period 1960-1983, the total number of births to women under 20 declined, while the number of out-of-wedlock births increased, due to declining rates of marriage as resolution to unmarried pregnancy.

Chilman, C.S. (Ed.). (1980). Adolescent sexuality in a changing society: Social and psychological perspectives (NIH Publication No. 80-1426). Bethesda, MD: National Institute of Child Health and Human Development.

This is a collection of review articles on biological, psychological and social aspects of sexual behavior,

contraception, pregnancy, abortion,and adolescent marriage. Methodological issues, and program and social policy issues also receive attention.

Clark, S.D., Zabin, L. & Hardy, D. J. (1984). Sex, contraception, and parenthood: Experiences and attitudes among urban Black young men. Family Planning Perspectives, 16, 77-82.

Eighty-seven percent of 660 Black adolescent males attending an inner-city junior high school and senior high school in Baltimore report that they have had sexual intercourse. Eighty percent of the sexually experienced teenagers have used a contraceptive method, and 60 percent used one at last intercourse. Contraceptive practice is characterized by heavy reliance on male methods: of those using a method at last intercourse, 41 percent relied on the condom; 15 percent withdrawal; and 14 percent on a combination of male and female methods. Use of female methods alone (mostly the pill) accounted for 28 percent of contraceptive practice at last intercourse. Although nearly nine in 10 respondents recognize that boys share a responsibility for preventing pregnancy when they have sex, more than half are willing to tolerate unprotected coitus. Most wish to delay parenthood until their early 20s, but many appear to hold attitudes conducive to out-of-wedlock conception. The mean age they report as "best" for a man to begin intercourse is six years younger than the mean best age to become a parent, which is in turn two years younger than the age they regard as best to get married. Among the high school students, a majority realize that being a father while still in school involves problems for themselves as well as for the girl and baby. Nevertheless, while 34 percent say that they would be "very upset" if they got a girl pregnant in the next six months, 13 percent would not be upset and 12 percent would be happy. Awareness of and accuracy of knowledge about contraceptive methods was also analyzed.

Flick, L.H. (1986). Paths to adolescent parenthood: Implications for prevention. Public Health Reports, 101, 132-137.

Flick reviews 79 studies providing information on the correlates of sexual activity, contraceptive use, delivering the child (versus abortion), and keeping the child (versus adoption). Studies including Black adolescents are identified.

Finkel, M.S. & Finkel, D.J. (1975). Sexual and contraceptive knowledge, attitudes and behavior of male adolescents. Family Planning Perspectives, 7, 256-260.

The sample consisted of 421 male students enrolled in three northeastern high schools. The proportions of Black, White, and Hispanic males in the sample who had experienced coitus, and the proportions using contraception at last intercourse, varied little by ethnicity.

Furstenberg, F.F., Moore, K.A. & Peterson, J.A. (1985). Sex education and sexual experience among adolescents. American Journal of Public Health, 75, 1331-1332.

Data from the 1981 National Survey of Children show that 15- and 16-year-olds who have been exposed to sex education are less likely to be sexually experienced, and are neither more nor less likely to discuss sex with parents at home. The negative association between sex education and sexual activity held up for all subgroups except Black males. Black males and females were less likely to have received sex education than White adolescents.

Hendricks, L.E., Robinson-Brown, D. & Gary, L.E. (1984). Religiosity and unmarried Black adolescent fatherhood. Adolescence, 19, 417-424.

The relationship between religiosity and unmarried adolescent fatherhood was examined in 48 unmarried Black adolescent fathers and a matched sample of 50 Black adolescent non-fathers in Columbus, Ohio. The results indicated that the fathers did not differ so much from nonfathers in the degree that they are religiously oriented, but in the manner that they give expression to their religious involvement. Fathers were more likely than nonfathers to be responsive to nongroup modes of institutionalized religion (i.e., media forms); whereas the nonfathers' religious involvement was likely to be within institutionalized groups.

Koenig, M.A. & Zelnik, M. (1982). Repeat pregnancies among metropolitan-area teenagers: 1971-1979. Family Planning Perspectives, 14, 341-344.

A declining proportion of young women who become premaritally pregnant marry during their first pregnancy: 33 percent of metropolitan-area women aged 15-19 in 1971 did

so, compared to 16 percent of those interviewed in 1979. Of those surveyed in 1979, almost 50 percent conceived again within 24 months, including 30 percent among those who remained unmarried. Most age, race, and pregnancy outcome groups show a decline in repeat pregnancies, with the exception of White teenagers.

Moore, K.A., Simms, M. & Betsy, C. (1986). Choice and circumstance: Racial differences in adolescent sexuality and fertility. New Brunswick, NJ: Trans-Action.

This is a comprensive review and analysis of racial differences and similarities in adolescent sexuality and fertility.

Morrison, D.M. (1985). Adolescent contraceptive behavior: A review. Psychological Bulletin, 98, 539-568.

This is a comprehensive review article summarizing the psychologically-oriented research literature on adolescent contraceptive use. Descriptive studies, individual difference studies, and theory-based studies from family planning, medical and applied journals are covered, as well as studies in psychology journals. The research suggests that adolescents are largely uninformed about many methods of contraception. They have negative attitudes toward contraception generally and toward using contraceptives. The widespread nonuse of contraception by sexually active adolescents is not irrational, given their levels of information and their beliefs and attitudes. Psychological models using cognitive, emotional, and developmental factors have been used to predict and explain these behaviors, and they hold promise for future research. One section of the review concerns racial and ethnic comparisons.

Nathanson, C.A. & Becker, M.H. (1986). Family and peer influence on obtaining a method of contraception. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 48, 513-515.

This study examines the influence of parents, peers, and partners on teenage women's contraceptive-seeking behavior. Data are from a survey of 2884 unmarried women who were making their first visit to a family planning clinic. The majority of these young women report active participation in, and support for, the clinic visit by significant others. Black female adolescents were found to differ from White female adolescents in reporting relatively higher

involvement in the clinic visit by the mother, and lower involvement by the boyfriend or female peers.

Norman, A.J. (1977). Family planning with third-world males. Health and Social Work, 2, 139-157.

This is a description of the Young Male Project of the Los Angeles Regional Family Planning Council. As part of the project, data are reported from a sample of 275 Black, Chicano, Asian-American, and American Indian males concerning sexual activity, awareness of birth control methods, and use of the condom.

Polit, D.F. & Kahn, J.F. (1986). Early subsequent pregnancy among economically disadvantaged teenage mothers. American Journal of Public Health, 76, 167-171.

This study investigated the antecedents and short-term consequences of an early subsequent pregnancy in a sample of economically disadvantaged teenage mothers. Data were gathered over a two-year period from 675 young mothers living in eight United States cities. Within two years of the initial interview, when half the sample was still pregnant with the index pregnancy, nearly half the sample experienced a second- or higher-order pregnancy. Characteristics of the young women at entry into the study were relatively poor predictors of which teenagers would conceive again by the final interview. An early repeat pregnancy was associated with a number of negative short-term consequences in the areas of education, employment, and welfare dependency, even after background characteristics were statistically controlled.

Rivara, F., Sweeney, P. & Henderson, B. (1985). A study of low socioeconomic status Black teenage fathers and their nonfather peers. Pediatrics, 75, 648-656.

Demographic variables, background variables, attitudes, knowledge about pregnancy and contraception, and family characteristics and dynamics of 100 teenage fathers were studied and compared with those of 100 nonfathers, age-matched peers in Memphis, Tennessee. Nearly all subjects were Black and were from families of low socioeconomic status. There were no differences between the two groups in age at first intercourse (mean 12.5 years) and frequency of intercourse in the last year. More control subjects than fathers perceived pregnancy as disruptive to their future

plans for school, job, and marriage. The mothers of teen fathers were more likely to be teenaged mothers themselves. (77% versus 53%). In both groups, one third of their brothers and 44% of their sisters were teen parents. Both groups had poor knowledge about the risk of pregnancy and the effectiveness of contraceptives, and negative attitudes toward contraceptives. Both groups of subjects became sexually active at young ages, had poor knowledge of contraception, and often had unprotected intercourse. Although there were many similarities between the two groups, the teenage fathers seemed to come from environments in which teen pregnancy was common, accepted, and perceived as minimally disruptive to their lives now or in the future.

Smith, E.A. & Udry, J.R. (1985). Coital and non-coital sexual behaviors of White and Black adolescents. American Journal of Public Health, 75, 1200-1203.

As part of a longitudinal study of young adolescents, data were collected in 1980 on the non-coital and coital sexual experiences of male and female adolescents who ranged in age from 12 to 15 at the time of the initial contact, and followed up two years later. Both Guttman scale analysis and a longitudinal analysis indicate different sexual patterns between White and Black teens: Whites are more likely than Blacks to engage in a predictable series of non-coital behaviors for a period of time before the first intercourse experience. These differences in sexual patterns were interpreted as offering a partial explanation for the different pregnancy rates between Black and White adolescents.

Sonenstein, F.L. (1987). Risking paternity: Sex and contraception among adolescent males. In M.E. Lamb & S. Elster (Eds.), Adolescent fatherhood. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

This chapter reviews literature on sexual and contraceptive behavior among adolescent males, and factors predicting them.

Williams-McCoy, J.E. & Tyler, F.B. (1985). Selected psychosocial characteristics of Black unwed adolescent fathers. Journal of Adolescent Health Care, 6, 12-16.

Adolescent fathers and nonfathers were compared as to their belief in a sense of personal control and

responsibility for their lives (locus of control); ability to optimistically trust others (interpersonal trust); taking an active orientation toward life's demands and problems (coping style); and family/generational patterns of unwed parenthood. Participants were 24 unwed adolescent fathers and 27 unwed adolescent nonfathers, aged 15-19 years. Results suggest that adolescent fathers are usually older, more likely to have been born out-of-wedlock, and less trusting than nonfathers.

Zelnik, M. & Kantner, J.F. (1980). Sexual activity, contraceptive use and pregnancy among metropolitan teenagers: 1971-79. Family Planning Perspectives, 12, 231-238.

Surveys of national representative samples of females aged 15-19 and males aged 17-21 in 1979 indicate that somewhat higher proportions of Black adolescents have experienced sexual intercourse than have Whites. Among Black males, the rates were: age 17, 60.3%; 18, 78.8%; 19, 79.9%. Among Black females, the rates were: 15, 64.2%; 16, 41.0%; 17, 73.3%; 18,76.3%; 19, 88.5%. Within age groups, the race difference was greater for females than for males. 30% of Black adolescent females aged 15-19 had a pregnancy before marriage, while the rate among White adolescent females was 13.5%. Black females reported somewhat lower rates of contraceptive use than did White females. Other analyses are reported concerning the outcomes of pregnancy, pregnancy intentions, and specific contraceptive methods used.

Zelnik, M., Kantner, J.F. & Ford, K. (1981). Sex and pregnancy in adolescence. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

This research monograph analyzes 1971 and 1976 national surveys of adolescent females. It considers current age, SES, family stability, religion, religiosity, and age at menarche or first intercourse as predictors of: (1) sexual activity, (2) contraception, and (3) pregnancy. Comparisons of Blacks and Whites on these three outcome variables, adjusting for differences between these groups on demographic and other variables, are presented.

Zelnik, M. & Shah, F.K. (1983). First intercourse among young Americans. Family Planning Perspectives, 15, 54-70.

Further analyses of the 1979 national survey by Zelnik and Kantner indicated that contraception is less often used in first intercourse by Black adolescent males and females than by Whites, but that Black adolescents used a medical method more often. A variety of other analyses, including many conducted separately within Blacks and Whites, are reported.

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TEEN PARENTING

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Summary

Current statistics on the number of live births to women during adolescence has dramatically demonstrated the seriousness of teen pregnancy. Childbearing during this phase of the life course is correlated with special long- and short-term problems for the mother and child. Among these problems are physical complications before and after birth, as well as psychological, social and economic consequences of teen parenthood. As two investigators put it, "...the adolescent mother finds her life chances to be truncated" (Brooks-Gunn & Furstenberg, 1986). While social scientists have carefully examined the consequences of adolescent pregnancy for the mother, the number of empirical studies on teen parenting is meager as are studies on paternity establishment and child support.

Presumably the parenting practices of adolescent mothers and fathers differ from those of adults and are likely to affect the child's development. Much of the research in this area is based on the assumption that adolescents are

unable to rear children effectively. Teen parenting practices among Black adolescents are particularly important because of the disproportionately high rate of out-of-wedlock births within this population and the implications of such rates for policy.

Although sparse, the literature on teen parenting has generally focused on three areas: (1) actual behaviors toward the child; (2) knowledge of child development; and, (3) attitudes toward parenting (Brooks-Gunn & Furstenberg, 1986). Much of this research has been conducted with adolescent primiparas. Few studies examine the effects of teenage motherhood on a subsequent birth. Throughout the literature, two underlying themes emerge: (1) Teen mothers exhibit parenting practices that differ from those of older mothers; and, (2) Teen fathers are neither willing or prepared to assume a responsible parenting role and are, in fact, marginal participants in the rearing of their children. Studies show that teen mothers vocalize less to their children than older mothers; have less realistic expectations about their children's developmental progress; have less knowledge about child development than their older counterparts; and, were initially unhappy about their pregnancy.

Methodological shortcomings are common in this research

area. The use of non-random sampling procedures with populations of teen mothers considered prototypical (e.g., Black, urban, poor and unmarried) limit generalizability of research findings. The omission of adolescent fathers as research subjects has left a hiatus in our understanding of the male's role in parenting. Comparative studies based on inadequate and inappropriate control groups make it difficult to attribute observable differences to a single cause. For example, the differences in older and teen maternal behaviors toward their child may be a function of social class rather than parenting practices. Across-group comparisons provide little information about the variations within groups. Such within-group differences may provide plausible explanations for across-group variances. Similarly, the failure to control for social class and age differences restrict the preciseness of research findings.

Clearly, the current rate of teen pregnancy warrants a systematic study of teen parenting practices and the consequences for young children. Longitudinal and cross-sectional studies might suggest how changes in the parent's life (e.g., marriage, divorce, completion of school) influence parenting practices and the child.

Annotated References

Administration for Children, Youth and Families. (1979). Project to determine the legal and social benefits, rights, and remedies accruing to illegitimate children upon the establishment of paternity (DHEW Publication No. 90-C-1334). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

This report provides a review of statutory and case law pertaining to illegitimacy in the fifty states and assesses the attitudes and awareness of judges, mothers of children born out-of-wedlock and child support enforcement personnel about the social benefits and rights of illegitimate children whose paternity has been established. A survey of a small number of judges, mothers and agency personnel was conducted in three states - Washington, Wisconsin and Minnesota. The findings indicate that the legal establishment of paternity does not constitute legitimation or provide inheritance rights when a father dies without a will in half the fifty states. Moreover, the study shows that there is considerable confusion on the part of mothers, judges and agency personnel as to what actually happens to birth certificates once paternity is established. Nearly half the mothers (n =51) indicated that the child receives visits from his/her father, however, most visitation occurs without legal intervention and occurs as a result of mutual agreement between the child's parents. The report concludes with recommendations for future research and policy development, including an examination of the effects of paternity establishment on paternal visitation and passage of the Uniform Parentage Act in states whose statutes deny legal equality to children born out-of-wedlock.

Barret, R. & Robinson, B. (1982). Teenage fathers: Neglected too long. Social Work, 27 (6), 484-488.

This article provides a critical review of empirical research on teenage fathers and offers recommendations for the development of social services for unwed adolescent parents. The more common methodological shortcomings found in empirical studies of teenage parents are noted, including: (1) the omission of fathers as subjects in studies of adolescent pregnancy; (2) the inference of information about teen fathers from other sources; (3) a reliance on biased reports of teen fathers from adolescent mothers; (4) the use of retrospective data and post hoc

analyses which result in inaccurate assessments of psychological and cultural change; and (5) the use of unrepresentative sampling procedures. Studies of demographic data are reviewed as are studies regarding the psychological factors and paternal involvement in parenting.

Brooks-Gunn, J. & Furstenberg, F.F. (1986). The children of adolescent mothers: Physical, academic, and psychological outcome. Developmental Review, 6, 225-251.

In this review of the literature, a series of issues regarding the consequences of teenage parenthood for children are examined including: (1) the areas of a child's development that are affected; (2) the ages at which negative effects appear; (3) differences in negative consequences for boys and girls; and (4) the antecedents of deleterious child outcomes. The review explores individual differences in the expression of parenting by different-aged mothers by focusing on two questions: how do parenting patterns originate and how do parental practices affect the young child's social, physical, and cognitive development. Though a paucity of empirical data exists on these topics, the findings suggest that teenage mothers vocalize less to their children than do older parents; that teenage mothers appear to have less realistic expectations than older mothers with regard to their children's developmental progress; that teenage mothers are not more depressed than older mothers; that high support and personal control reduced the impact of negative life events significantly; that the effects of teenage childbearing, when found, are mediated by factors such as education, single-parent households and family size; and, finally, that intellectual differences in children of teenage and older childbearers become more pronounced as children develop. The investigators conclude that these issues require systematic study with more representative samples of teenage mothers.

Brown, S. (1983). The commitment and concerns of Black adolescent parents. Social Work Research and Abstracts, 19 (4), 27-34.

This article reports on a study of Black adolescent fathers and mothers which assessed the quality of their commitment and concerns as a couple. Using the couple as the primary unit of analysis, Brown assesses the attitudes of young Black expectant parents to determine how they diverge from those generally assumed in the literature. The data for this study were collected from a nonprobability

sample of 36 Black expectant adolescent couples at the Maternal and Child Health Clinic in Baltimore. Personal interviews were conducted with each partner to elicit information about each partner's perception of the couple's relationship; attitudes and behaviors concerning premarital sexual intercourse and their forthcoming parenting responsibilities. The analysis showed that sexual values vary among lower-class Black youth; that the level of commitment of the couples could be determined by knowing how each partner felt about the other prior to the pregnancy and whether their feelings were mutual; and, that the two most frequently cited concerns of the expectant parents were their ability to assume future financial responsibilities and not being able to go out and have fun after the child's birth. Brown provides an adequate critique of the limitations of this study and discusses the implications of the findings for future research and service delivery.

Card. J.J. (1981). Long-term consequences for children of teenage parents. Demography, 18 (2) 137-156.

In this publication, Card investigates the long-term outcomes for children born when their mother and/or father was an adolescent. The data base for the analysis, Project TALENT, was a longitudinal national survey of 375,000 individuals who were in grades 9-12 in 1960. In this analysis, TALENT participants born when their mother and/or father was a teenager were compared with their classmates born when both parents were older. Controlling background factors, Card's findings indicate that children of teenage parents, in comparison to their classmates showed: (a) a greater probability of living in a non-intact home in high school: (b) lower academic aptitude as a teenager; and (c) a slightly increased probability of repeating the parent's pattern of early marriage, early parenthood and greater fertility. Card concludes by emphasizing the importance of a stable, continuous family environment for the intellectual growth of children.

Furstenberg, F.F. (1980). Burdens and benefits: The impact of early childbearing on the family. Journal of Social Issues, 36 (1), 64-87.

The purpose of this analysis was to explore the effects of teenage pregnancy and childbearing on families-of-origin and to examine the amount and type of support provided by the family to the pregnant teenager. Data were obtained from two primary sources: a secondary analysis of data from

a longitudinal study conducted in Baltimore from 1967 to 1972 with a total of 320 women (mostly Black) and data collected during a pilot study with 15 families (nine Black, three White and three Hispanic) in Philadelphia. Data from the longitudinal study were used to provide a demographic overview of the residential patterns of adolescent mothers following the birth of the first child, while information from the pilot study was used to offer a more microscopic view of the family support process. Based on the data the findings indicate the mothers were more likely to receive substantial amounts of financial assistance and child care when they remained with relatives. The most common residential pattern among pregnant mothers was unbroken residence with the family of origin. While age was not strongly related to the young mother's continuing residence with her parents, educational status, the bond between parent and daughter, and the adolescent mother's level of dependency were better predictors of residential patterns. Adolescents who remained with their parents were more likely to advance educationally and economically as compared with their peers who left home. The microscopic view gleaned from interviews with teen mothers and family members suggest tremendous variations in the division of labor among families, an elevation of the status of the young mother in the family, and a repositioning of the status of other family members.

Furstenberg, F.F. & Talvitic, K. (1980). Children's names and paternal claims. Journal of Family Issues, 1 (1), 31-57.

In this paper, Furstenberg and Talvitic explore the paternal involvement of fathers who do not reside with their offspring during the first five years of the child's life. These data are contrasted with data on males who were married to the mother of their child during the same time period. The respondents in this study were the male partners of 323 unmarried teenage mothers who participated in a longitudinal study conducted in Baltimore over a five-year period. The analysis tends to focus on the manner in which naming patterns structure and reinforce familial bonds. The results show a consistent association between naming patterns and paternal involvement in the families of never-married fathers. When children bore their father's name (nearly two-thirds of the sons and almost half the daughters did), they were much more likely to have regular contact with their fathers and to receive economic assistance from them. Despite this overall finding the authors caution against making the assertion that a direct

causal link exists between naming patterns and child development. Instead the authors conclude that naming patterns expressed potential commitment to paternity.

Parke, R., Power, T. & Fisher, T. (1980). The adolescent father's impact on the mother and child. Journal of Social Issues, 36 (1), 88-106.

Empirical studies conducted between 1968 and 1980 regarding the nature of the father-infant relationship, the impact of the father on the infant's social and cognitive development and the effect of the father on the mother and on her relationship with the infant are examined in this article. The review of these studies indicate that teenagers (mothers and fathers) are limited in their knowledge of infant development. Though studies of adolescent father-infant play are sparse, such studies with samples of older fathers suggest differences in the play patterns of fathers and mothers. Furthermore, infants respond differently to maternal and paternal play behavior. Fathers' physical play best predicted boy's cognitive development, while the quality of the father's verbal interaction was a better predictor for female cognitive status. These authors conclude with a discussion of the nature of cultural support systems that may help foster greater involvement among adolescent fathers with their children.

Presser, H. (1980). Sally's corner: Coping with unmarried motherhood. Journal of Social Issues, 36 (1), 107-129.

In this article Presser focuses on the coping strategies of a sample of unmarried mothers beginning with the first child. She examines the support systems these mothers rely on and changes in these systems over time. The data presented in this analysis are based on a subsample of 69 unmarried women drawn from a larger sample of 408 women who were randomly selected from three boroughs in New York City (i.e., Brooklyn, the Bronx and Queens). Each woman was interviewed three times, in-person and by telephone between 1973 and 1976. More than three-fourths of the 69 women were Black and Protestant. Presser notes an increase in nonfamilial (e.g., returning to school or work) and familial role responsibilities following the birth of the child among unmarried mothers. While the families-of-origin were found to provide assistance to these women, relatively few unmarried fathers provided assistance in a major way with the day-to-day demands of childrearing. Of those fathers

who did provide assistance, the data showed that their assistance tapered off with time. Fathers who wanted to marry the child's mothers were more likely to contribute to the child's support than were other fathers. Unmarried mothers who remained with their parents following the birth of their first child were more likely to return to school. Presser concludes by raising several policy issues regarding familial support and preventive measures.

Sawin, D.B. & Parke, R.D. (1976). Adolescent fathers: Some implications from recent research on paternal roles. Educational Horizons, 55, 36-43.

This article examines the available research on paternal roles and father-infant interaction and discusses the implications of this work for adolescent fathers and professionals in education and health-care delivery. The review of empirical studies focused on several key questions including: (1) Are fathers less active in care-giving with their newborn infants than mothers? (2) Does the father's involvement affect the mother's behavior with their infants? and, (3) Are fathers less competent care-givers than mothers? The findings indicate the fathers are equally as active as mothers in their social activities with their infants, and that father's active participation in interactions within the triad (e.g., mother-infant-father) serve to enhance the mother's interest in the infant. The investigators conclude that childbirth among adolescents should not be encouraged; however, where conception has occurred, opportunities for adolescent fathers to fulfill their parental roles should be encouraged.

Sullivan, M.L. (1984). Teen fathers in the inner city. New York: Vera Institute of Justice.

The data presented in this report on fathering describe youth from one of three neighborhoods in New York City. The study, an ethnographic observational study, was designed to describe and explore some of the ways in which the rights and duties of teen fatherhood are established and maintained. Eleven youth, mostly Black adolescent males, were interviewed to obtain a detailed life-history concerning their family backgrounds, social and sexual development, and patterns of fathering. Though the sample size was small, the findings suggest a diversity of arrangements for child care and financial support. Child care was provided by both parents, grandparents and other relatives. Some fathers made regular contributions of

income from their criminal activity, while others found jobs and provided support for as long as employment remained steady. Several mothers and fathers were completing their education and taking advantage of community health and nutritional programs. The results of the study were interpreted as an indication that a great deal of child support by unmarried teen fathers is concealed from public scrutiny and further study is necessary.

Thompson, M. (1986). The influence of supportive relations on the psychological well-being of teenage mothers. Social Forces, 64 (4), 1006-1024.

This article examines the impact of family and peer resources on adjustment of teenage mothers by investigating the relationship between different sources of social support and perceptions of maternal stress and psychological distress. Interviews were conducted with a sample of 296 mothers who delivered a first child between September 1978 and August 1979. The sample was drawn from the delivery records of a large urban general hospital. The majority of the sampled mothers were Black, (64% Black, 30% White, and 6% Hispanic) and single, with a median age of 17 at the birth of the child. Information was elicited on the mothering experience, availability of help from others, and the infant's health through structured interviews conducted in the mothers' homes. Analysis of these data suggest an important racial difference in the coping responses of teenage mothers, with White females being more likely to report stress with mothering than Black females. Self-reports of stress and difficulties in fulfilling mothering duties were higher for those women who received help from friends or from relatives than for those who did not. Moreover, self-reports of psychological distress were lower for young mothers who received support from a husband, male companion, or the infant's father than for those who did not. The investigator concludes that the study confirms a multidimensional explanation of social supports and racial differences in coping responses of teenage mothers. Social supports were not uniformly positive: some significant others had positive effects on well-being while others showed negative effects on well-being.

Wattenberg, E. (1984). Project on paternity and adjudication and child support obligations of teenage parents. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, Center for Urban and Regional Affairs.

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This article focuses on the attitudes and support systems available to adolescent mothers during the early adjustment of the mother to her infant. The sample consisted of a total of 55 mother-infant pairs selected on the second or third postpartum day. Twenty-three of these women were under the age of 18; eight were older than 21; and 24 were women over the age 21 who gave birth to more than one child at the time of delivery. Each mother was interviewed twice; once two weeks after delivery and again three months following delivery. Most of the mothers were Black and their babies males. Few of the mothers were married (8%). Of those not married, most (95%) lived in an extended family. Adolescent mothers were more likely to seek medical advice from their mothers than older mothers. The majority of the sampled mothers (81%) stated that the father was helping with the baby when first interviewed. Compared to the other two groups, more adolescent mothers expressed insecurity about their role as a mother. Moreover, more adolescent mothers were concerned about whether the baby would recognize them as the mother if care-taking was shared with another person.

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CROBA

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PROJECT SUMMARY

Project Director:
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Georgie Winter, Doctoral Student

The Consortium for Research on Black Adolescence (CROBA) was funded by the William T. Grant Foundation in April of 1986. Project objectives in year one were twofold: (1) to share the results of recent research efforts and (2) to consolidate information. Project activities included three working meetings, document preparation, and a broad range of dissemination efforts. Project outcomes included ten publications (including Black Adolescence: Topical Summaries and Annotated Bibliographies of Research), eleven professional presentations, and a set of workshop materials. CROBA interests focussed on the issues of adolescent parenting, achievement orientation, drug abuse, education and occupational choice, family-adolescent relationships, psychological health, psycho-social development, suicide, sexuality and contraception.

The Consortium is comprised of eight researchers:

JOYCE E. EVERETT, Assistant Professor, School of Social Work, Boston University, Boston, Massachusetts. She is focussing on teen parenthood, especially child support and paternity establishment. Other interests include child welfare issues related to substitute care.

CAROL J. CARTER, Associate Director and Assistant Dean, African-American Institute, Northeastern University, Boston, Massachusetts. She is focussing on the career and occupational education of girls. Other interests include the professional and leadership development of Black women.

PATRICK C. MCKENRY, Professor & Acting Chair, Department of Family Relations and Human Development, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. He is focusing on adolescent suicide and drug abuse. Other interests include adolescent pregnancy, divorce, and sex role development.

SAUNDRA RICE NETTLES, Director, Office of Field Services, United Planning Organization, Washington, D.C. She is interested in achievement behavior. Other interests include applied research that identifies, describes, and evaluates community-based methods for preventing adolescent crises.

JOSEPH H. PLECK, Henry Luce Professor of Families, Change and Society, Wheaton College, Norton, Massachusetts. He is focussing on contraception, adolescent sexuality, and teen parenthood. Other interests include male roles and work-family issues.

HOWARD P. RAMSEUR, Clinical Psychologist, Medical Department, The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts. He is focussing on psychological health. Other interests include the development of racial identity.

RONALD L. TAYLOR, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Connecticut, Storrs. He is interested in the impact of significant others on the psycho-social development of youth. Other interests include role modeling behavior and value and political orientations.

PATRICIA BELL-SCOTT (Project Director), Associate Professor, School of Family Studies, University of Connecticut, Storrs, Connecticut. She is interested in family-adolescent relationships. Other interests include Black mother-daughter relationships and women's psycho-social development.

GEORGIE WINTER (Research Assistant), Doctoral Student, School of Family Studies, University of Connecticut, Storrs, Connecticut.

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